



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

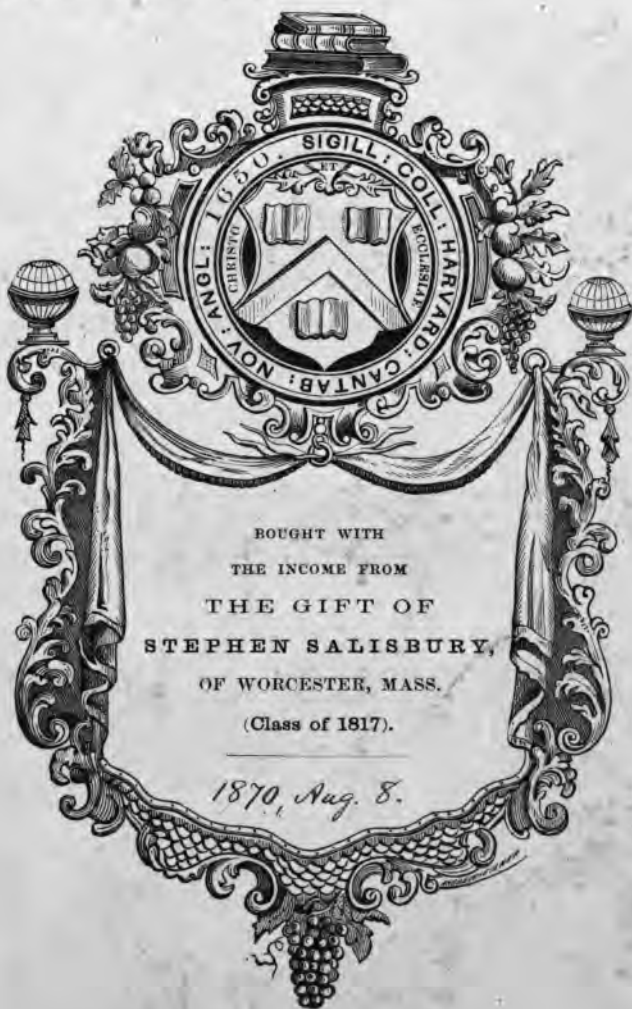
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Arc
1470
6

GREEK
FEDERAL COINAGE

WARREN

10.19
AYC 1470.6



BOUGHT WITH
THE INCOME FROM
THE GIFT OF
STEPHEN SALISBURY,
OF WORCESTER, MASS.
(Class of 1817).

1870, Aug. 8.

2/6

AN ESSAY
ON
GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.



0

AN ESSAY

ON

GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.

BY THE
HON. J. LEICESTER WARREN, M.A.

^c
London and Cambridge:
MACMILLAN AND CO.

1863

Arc 1470.6

1870, Aug. 8.
\$
Salisbury Fund.

LONDON:
R. CLAY, SON, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,
BREAD STREET HILL.

P R E F A C E.

THE present Essay is an attempt to illustrate Mr. Freeman's History of Federal Government by evidence deduced from the Coinage of the times and countries therein treated of. The purely historical application of Numismatics is a point of such importance, that the author, conscious of the shortcomings of this general view of the subject, will be amply satisfied if it prove the means of stimulating some abler researches in the same direction.

Note.—All references in the following Essay “to the text,” or to a page with no particular work specified, are to Mr. Freeman's History of Federal Government. I have also followed as closely as I could the system of proper-name orthography adopted in his work.

AN ESSAY

ON

GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.

THE coinage of a federation, in its greater or less uniformity, may be accepted as a faithful index of the actual vitality and practical working of the particular League. Witness our most perfect instances of federal government, Achaia and Lykia, as compared with the imperfect Leagues of Ætolia and Bœotia. In Lykia, we have existing coins of nearly twenty towns; under the Achaian League, a list of more than forty towns and districts,¹ struck, in each case, with the most perfect uniformity of types throughout the whole length and breadth of either League, and with the most regular recognition on each town's coinage of a superior federal authority. Such facts as these bring home to us, as forcibly as any written contemporaneous history, the full reality of a great national effort belonging to times so remote from our own. The contrast between federal and unfederal Achaia, between the Lykia of the League and the Lykia in other times, will be best appreciated in observing each city coining after its own type and its own devices.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

The federal
coinages
of Achaia
and Lykia
the most
uniform.

Again, the coinage of an imperfectly developed federalism, as of

¹ The whole list of places coining under the Achaian League, as I have given it, amounts to 41. 32 of these coins I have verified personally. This leaves 9 places given on the authority of Sestini, Mionnet, &c. These two authorities are not trustworthy on any point of great importance, but probably two-thirds of these 9 towns or districts have left actual coins, as seven of these are known from history to have actually been members of the League.

INTRO- Bœotia, bears upon it the distinct impress of the main constitu-
 DUTION. tional fault of that particular League. The coinage of Bœotia and
 The federal its League is, eminently and in a very undue preponderance, the
 coinage of Bœotia and coinage of Thebes. The didrachms which claim to be considered
 the municipal coin- federal by inscribing the name of the Bœotians differ only in this
 age of Thebes respect from those, which, professing to be struck by 'the Thebans,'
 nearly would, if strictly interpreted, rank as a merely municipal currency.
 equivalent. Again, another class of these didrachms, not numerically smaller
 than the coinage avowedly of the League or of the capital,—seems
 to waive the question of a federal or municipal ascription by merely
 naming a head magistrate without mention of town or country. Still, strictly speaking, even in this last class, the federal cha-
 racter predominates, by the all but certain assumption, that the
 Archon Epônymos of the Bœotarchs is thus named. The real
 fact is that, at least during the second period of Bœotian history,
 Bœotian and Theban had become practically synonymous; Thebes
 was the League and the League was Thebes;¹ hence, it made
 very little difference, for purposes of currency, or mere verbal
 significance in the eyes of a contemporary Bœotian, whether any
 particular didrachm was marked Theban or Bœotian. While, on
 the other hand, we can easily conceive that a didrachm inscribed
 "of the Thyrrhéans"² was not equally current with another marked
 "of the Akarnanians" through every town of that League; nor
 could this last have conveyed the same meaning to an Akarnanian
 of the period, though identical in type and place of mintage with
 the federal issue. Last, the whole series of the other towns which
 coined in Bœotia is, even taken together, numerically inferior to
 the coins which we may suppose issued from the mint of Thebes
 alone at different periods.³

Thus in two instances, among the Leagues here discussed, was
 uniformity of coinage, with a recognition on each coin of the federal

¹ See Mr. Freeman's History of Federal Government, page 160.

² We shall show lower down that the Akarnanian League at one period
 met and struck federal coins at Thyrrhéon.

³ The number of coins which a town has left is not always a sure test of
 its relative importance as compared with neighbouring cities at the time
 those coins were issued. The accidental proximity of a mine sometimes
 leaves us a large series of a comparatively unimportant place.

authority, enforced among their constituent cities and states. I should conceive, however, that in no one instance did any League interfere with a previously existing right of coinage belonging to any small state within its influence. The rule seems almost invariable that federal and state coins should coexist. The coins of our most perfect Leagues, the Achaian and Lykian, unite both characters. In the more imperfect federations the towns generally coined with no recognition of any authority beyond their city walls. In Akarnania, Leukas occasionally, Oiniadai nearly always, bear what is no doubt the monogram of their League. Moreover, the type of the Achelôos head is prevalent. In Ætolia there is a distinctive type used by Ætolian towns, consisting of symbols relative to the Kalydônian hunt. Thus, beyond this approximation of type, which, in both these instances, may be as much owing to some community of religious influence as to any feeling of political or federal union, Akarnania and Ætolia illustrate their federal institutions but little through their coinage. In Thessaly and Epeiros we get the mere fact of a comparatively late federal coinage. In Chalkidikê, Bottiaia,¹ with several other neighbouring cities, uses the same types as the Chalkidians, but Bottiaia only inscribes her own name. Olynthos both uses the same type and prefixes "of the Chalkidians." For Olynthos their capital to style itself thus, does not infer much for the vitality of the League; had Bottiaia added to her own name XAAKIΔEON this would have had an infinitely greater significance. In the Arkadian League of Lykomêdês, Megalopolis, like Olynthos,—each the head town—at times acknowledges her own League by adding the monogram of Arkadia, but no minor Arkadian town seems to recognise this earlier League on its coinage, except possibly Pheneos, and this is more than doubtful.² Again, every constituent city of the Achaian and Lykian Leagues would possess as such the right of coining on their own League type. Hence, when Philopoimên or Lykortas erected a new state, Pagai or Asea would eagerly inaugurate their political birth by setting up their pillar, and striking a League coin of their town.

¹ The city Bottiaia stood not far north of Olynthos and Potidaia. Leake. Numismata Hellenica, European Greece. P. 29.

² See below under "Arkadia."

INTRO-
DUCTION.

A central
mint some-
times em-
ployed by
several
towns.

The particular cities would not lose their right of striking, nor would the federal government be interfering with that right, if, for the mutual convenience of at least the smallest towns, a central mint were established, where a common staff was employed in coining money as occasion required from dies stamped with the name of each particular city. It is not really of any great importance, whether each small League city manufactured its own currency, or went to headquarters for it.¹ The principle is the same, and the right is unimpaired.

Monetary
leagues.
That of the
six Bœo-
tian cities.

The evidence of coins has however handed down to us records of a more limited class of leagues, which, but for coins, we should probably have never heard of. I mean the numerous monetary leagues between two or more Greek cities. The best typical instance of such an alliance is furnished us by the six Bœotian cities who coin on one type, perhaps from one mint.

Notmerely
com-
mercial.

Though we have no evidence of this league, beyond a compact to assimilate their currencies between six or more cities, with doubtless an agreement to make their coins, interchangeably, a legal tender throughout the town-districts of each;—yet we may fairly presume that, in many such cases, the greater is implied by the less; that a common currency may have meant a common council; nor must we infer the absence of more complicated federal ties, because in the length of time only one of the then least details in the provisions of the league—a uniform type on their money—has survived to us.²

¹ The distinction between a coin of Patara and Podalia is merely the difference between ΠΑ and ΠΟ. This is hardly a more ostensible difference than between the single letters which number the different issues of the later Roman Empire, or indeed the numeral letters on the coins of Phaselis probably anterior to its joining the Lykian League. Thus, the postage stamps for our colonies are, I believe, manufactured at home. Still, I hardly think that this system of a central mint ever obtained much in Lykia or Achaia. The six Bœotian cities may however have struck from a common coining town, as may many of the less important monetary Leagues. Wide differences of fabric, as of period, exist among the coins of the Achaian and Lykian Leagues.

² I can hardly believe such monetary leagues to have been purely commercial. M. Müller (Numismatique d'Alexandre Le Grand, p. 45) speaks to the point: "Quand les villes libres frappaient monnaie en commun, c'était une conséquence naturelle d'alliances faites pour la défense mutuelle, de liaisons commerciales, d'un culte commun, ou d'une bonne

It is not too much to say, that the oldest distinct record of any germ of federalism in Greece is furnished us by an archaic coin of the Arkadians, probably of the sixth century before Christ. In this, our earliest approximation to a federal system, the principal Arkadian cities of the same archaic period coin side by side without recognition of, or interference from the mint which issued money in the name of the whole tribe. Mantinea, Héraia,¹ and Kleitôr have left a coinage as old, in the case of Héraia, perhaps older, than that of the Arkadians. Of course, it would be an anachronism to expect anything beyond the very smallest germ of federalism in Early Arkadia. In fact the ethnic "Arkadian" may have only applied to the Arkadian villages clustered round the immediate vicinity of Lykosoura,² where as the religious centre of the tribes united by one common Arkadian origin, the coinage would issue and be inscribed "Arkadian" and not "Lykosourian." On the other hand Mantinea, Héraia, and Kleitôr, were on their own account also centres² to numerous surrounding villages, in each of which their head town Mantinea, Héraia, or Kleitôr, rather than the vaguer name Arkadia, would inspire respect. Besides, an independent centre like Héraia would rather inscribe its own name on a currency intended for surrounding and virtually dependent villages, than encourage among these any thought of an appeal beyond and above its own authority by any suggestion of Arkadia and the sacred supremacy of Lykosoura.

INTRO-
DUCTION.The oldest
federal
coinage
that of
Arkadia.Lyko-
soura.Mantinea,
Héraia,
and
Kleitôr, in
their turn
also politi-
cal centres.

Having thus attempted a general view of the subject numismatically considered, I shall now pass in detail over the various

intelligence en général ; et le but en était probablement de donner un cours plus répandu à la monnaie et d'économiser sur les frais du monnayage." In 1802, Berne with five or six of the largest Swiss Cantons agreed to a *Concordate* under which they issued a uniform currency, though quite independently of the Federal Government. Compare this with our six Bœotian towns.

¹ If we refer the earliest coin of Héraia to the seventh century B. C., as we distinctly can one of the latest to the reign of Caracalla, we have a great breadth of time for the numismatic series of an insignificant city, which outlasted several empires.

² Col. Leake suggested Lykosoura as the earliest Arkadian mint (see *Numismata Hellenica* under Arkadia. Again, on Lykosoura especially, in his *Supplement to Numis. Hell.* under Gortys, p. 110.) Pheneos has left a few semi-archaic coins, not so old however as those of the three Arkadian towns in the text. It is not impossible that Pheneos may have been the Federal Arkadian mint at some period before the League of Lyko-médés. (See again below under "Arkadia.")

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Greek states where we trace any approximation to the Federal system admitting of illustration from the coins which have come down to us.

Following the arrangement adopted in the text for greater facility of reference we commence with—

PHOKIS.

PHOKIS.

Coin of
Onomarchos.

The Federal coinage of Phôkis extends over a considerable period of time; beginning with archaic specimens,¹ and ending close upon the Roman period. Intermediate between these in style is a brass coin reading ONYMAPXOY, which on the analogy of ὀμώνυμος and many similar instances, must be taken to be a local form of the name Onomarchos. This can only be the Phôkian general of the Sacred War, who was nominated to the chief command B.C. 353. The treasures of Delphi² were at his disposal, and consequently squandered largely by him in bribes. Considering the large force of mercenaries which he maintained, he is likely enough to have caused to be coined great quantities of the sacred treasure-bullion; as general he would naturally put his name on pieces thus coined in virtue of his office, or even if not warranted in thus doing, such a plan would suggest itself as an obvious way of inspiring greater respect in his hired armies, and from the foreign states with which he tampered.

Another of
his son
Phalaikos

A perfectly analogous coin exists reading ΦΑΛΑΙΚΟΥ³ in a wreath of laurel, with the head of the sacrificial ox of Phôkis added as usual on the other side. It is highly interesting that both Onomarchos and his son should be thus commemorated. Phalaikos also was suspected of appropriating the sacred treasure, and was deposed in consequence from the generalship, though subsequently restored to

¹ The φ on the earliest Phôkian coins reads like the θ turned on its side. The Ω is merely an omicron with a dot in the centre. These earliest federal coins of Phôkis must be nearly as old as the Arkadian.

² Strabo, ix. 3, sec. 8. Col. Leake has also published this coin but without comment under Phôkis, Num. Hell.

³ In the collection of General Fox. A similar coin in the British Museum appears to read ΦΑΛΛΙΚΟΥ. This very coin was published by Harwood. This may be a graver's slip for Phalaikos. Onomarchos had a brother Phayllos who succeeded him in the generalship during the minority of Phalaikos. The family seem to have established a semi-hereditary succession in Phôkis.

office. A careful study of the federal copper coinage of Phôkis may, PHOKIS. no doubt, bring to light many new names connected with the sacred war, upon the history of which some new light will be thrown.

This head of the sacrificial ox is the distinctive type of the Phôkian coinage. If the federal mint of Phôkis was in any town it probably was at Delphi. Still we know that there was no one dominant Phôkian city and that the Phôkikon stood by the wayside.¹

What is really valuable in the existence of coins "of the Phôkians"—The Phôkian federal coinage next to the Arkadian in antiquity. second perhaps only to the Arkadian in antiquity—is the distinct evidence they supply of a certain germ of Federalism in Phôkis at least five or six centuries before the Christian Era; that is, of the earliest beginnings of that Phôkian League of which that League which Pausanias saw was the decline and the mere shadow.²

The coinage of Delphi is not particularly noteworthy.

The coins reading merely AMΦIKTIONΩN are presumedly struck there. Anthêla near Thermopylæ has however been suggested³ as the place whence such pieces were issued, during some temporary meeting of the sacred deputies near Thermai. Delphi continues to coin under the Roman Empire.⁴ Coins struck by the Amphiktyonic Council.

Of the other Phôkian towns Elateia⁵ has been given coins reading at full length, which, I fancy belong to the Thessalian Elateia. Mr. Borrell has published a coin which he attributes to Lilaia. Uncertain Phôkian coining cities.

Môdeôn or Medeôn, Kyparissos and Amphikaia or Amphikleia⁶ have had coins also attributed to them with considerable uncertainty.

¹ See above, pp. 145, 146.

² P. 146, and on the rude federalism existing in many parts of early Greece, p. 144, note. Arnold's Life, i. 273 and also p. 145.

³ By M. Duchalais. These coins are fine Æginetan didrachms. A hemidrachm of this series with a similar legend is in the collection of Baron Prokesch-Osten. It bears a veiled head of Dêmêtêr, with a serpent twined round the sacred omphalos. This looks as if such pieces were minted at Delphi. It seems very strange that a primarily religious body like the Amphiktyons should have exercised the right of coining. See text, pp. 123—143.

⁴ A Negro's head, given by conjecture as Æsop's, though this is very doubtful, occurs on the small silver of Delphi. He is supposed to have been sold in slavery to the Delphians. The weight of the federal coinage of Phôkis follows the Æginetan scale.

⁵ Elateia was the largest Phôkian city in Strabo's time (ix. 3. 15).

⁶ See Paus. x. 3. The coin is supposed to read AMΦIKAI.

The coins of Amphissa and Thronion will be considered under Ætolia.

PHOKIS. Pausanias identifies (x. 36, s. 5) Kyparissos with Antikyra. Strabo (ix. 3, s. 13) would place it elsewhere. There is however in the French national collection¹ an undoubted copper coin of the Phôkian Antikyra, bearing the head and trident of Poseidôn, whose temple in this town Pausanias² notices. Antikyra is specially mentioned by Strabo³ as one of the Phôkian towns which survived at his day. The style of this coin cannot be long if at all anterior to the capture of Antikyra by Flamininus B.C. 198.

AKARNANIA.

AKARNANIA- The very obvious resemblance of the federal coins of Akarnania to the silver currency of the city Thyrrhêon⁴ establishes with adequate certainty the fact of that town having been at some period the federal mint of the Akarnanians.

Thyrrhêon
at one time
the federal
mint.

Polybios, it is true, records⁵ but one meeting of the Akarnanian League held at Thyrrhêon; yet to judge from numismatic evidence, such meetings must, at some indeterminate period, have been normal, not merely occasional.⁶ Perhaps Thyrrhêon⁷ became the

¹ Published by A. de Longperier. *Revue Num.* : p. 247. 1843. And by Barthelemy. (*Encyc. Roret.* pl. 7. 240.) M. Cohen kindly furnished me with an impression of this coin.

² This type is no doubt the upper part of the god's statue there described (§ x. 36). The coin reads **ANTIKTPEON**. Artemis hunting occupies the other side.

³ ix. 3, sec. 4. I do not think this coin belongs either to the Lokrian or Thessalian Antikyra, although possibly these may have also specially worshipped Poseidôn.

⁴ The type in each case is identical; the Aktian Apollo seated on one side, and the head of the deified Achelôos on the other. The name of the head magistrate of the League, probably the *Stratêgos* mentioned by Polybios (v. 6), and Livy (xxxvi. 11), perhaps the priest of the Aktian Apollo, is added, as **ΑΙΞΠΙΩΝ ΑΙΞΠΙΩΝΟΣ**, **ΑΤΚΟΤΠΡΟΣ**, &c.; this last is a name of frequent occurrence. The federal coinage reads **ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝ**, the municipal coinage **ΘΥΡΡΗΩΝ**, or **ΘΥΡΡΩΝ**, or **ΘΥΡΡΕΩΝ**. Thyrrhêon records also her own magistrates **ΞΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ**—**ΧΕΡΣΥΤΕ**—in all likelihood municipal not federal officers.

⁵ xxxviii. 5.

⁶ We cannot date the federal Akarnanian coinage with any precision. All that we can say is that it is later than Alexander. The silver currency consists of drachms and didrachms of low Æginetan weight. It probably extends over a very few years. I have seen an electrotpe of one small federal Akarnanian gold coin, of the usual type, from the Hunter Collection.

⁷ Polybios gives both **Θούριον** and **Θόριον**. I have followed the second of these coin forms as the commonest.

capital of the League when Leukas was lost after the Third Macedonian War B.C. 167. Still the meeting recorded by Polybios¹ took place while Leukas was still in the League, and the fabric of these coins of Thyrrhëon, federal and municipal, seems hardly so late as the Roman capture of Leukas.

AKARNANIA.

The important didrachmic series of Leukas is more numerous than and probably anterior to the federal coinage. Leukas would naturally have suggested itself as the most obvious place for the League mint.² The Leukadians, however, merely strike for the most part in their own name adding a single magistrate without doubt the priest of the Aktian Apollo, who seems to have been regarded as a kind of federal officer, inasmuch as the years of the League were in all likelihood counted in his name.³ These coins also bear sometimes the monogram of Akarnania.

The series of Leukas older than the federal coinage of Thyrrhëon

The numerous copper series of Oiniadai stands next, at least in historical importance, among the towns of Akarnania; these pieces attest considerable commercial consequence for this city during some period when Oiniadai was Akarnanian and not Ætolian; its coinage

Oiniadai. Its copper series.

¹ See text, p. 148. Throughout, and p. 664.

² At all events between 197-167 B.C. That is after Stratos became Ætolian, and before Leukas was lost. See above, p. 148.

³ See text, p. 149, and Rose, *Inscript. Græc.* p. 282. The *Stratêgos* of Polybios and Livy is omitted in this inscription. The type and symbols on the Leukadian coins support this in favour of the Priest's name being intended. Still I fancy that these didrachms of Leukas were *pro tanto* the nearest approach to a federal coinage in the Akarnanian League at the time they were struck; judging both by their number, and the adequate certainty that Leukas was then the League capital. They bear the monogram of the League in some few cases, but there is nothing else the least federal about them beyond this. Hence, the Akarnanian League only at one period, and that a short one, could have had a real federal coinage, that of Thyrrhëon. In Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, vol. ii. p. 170, a Leukadian didrachm is engraved which bears one form of the League monogram clearly enough. These coins are probably on the Attic standard.

The formula on the Leukadian series is ΑΕΤΚΑΔΙΩΝ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΗΣ, &c. with a variety of symbols—a head—a grape bunch—an eagle—as on the Theban or Boeotian coinage. These are perhaps badges or what we should call crests of the particular officer's family, but relate more probably to some small municipal ward, or district, and again may merely distinguish different issues. I am speaking above of coins with the silver Leukadian type, the statue of Artemis, and the half galley. The Corintho-colonial series of Leukas is also numerous but bears no immediate relation to the Akarnanian League, to which it was anterior in the time of its issue.

AKARNANIA.

is no doubt synchronous with certain copper coins of Leukas of a common type with them, the Achelôos head. They both bear also what is more important the monogram, probably, of Akarnania—a distinct recognition of that League—above and beyond the authority of their own particular city district.¹

EPEIROS.

EPEIROS. The federal coinage of Epeiros reads ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ with the

¹ The copper coins of Leukas with the Achelôos type, besides a few of the didrachms as already mentioned, bear behind the head in monogram AK. The coinage of Oiniadai (OINIADAN) throughout a numerous series, which is exclusively copper, gives us, in the same position, AKAP or AK, both in monogram, or A simple; thus determining A with certainty as the initial letter of the monogram, K as the second letter, and leaving the rest probably resolvable into AKAP. It is only when an accident of this kind gives us the initial, that we venture on attempting to explain such slippery matters as Greek monograms.

Mionnet, after Eckhel, has published a silver coin of Anaktorion reading AN—ΠΙΩΝ (Anaktoriôn) on one side, AKAPNANΩN on the other. (Med. Rom. Sup. iii. 457.) This piece is of the federal Thyrrhêon type, of which it is probably a misread specimen; a magistrate's name like ΑΙΞΠΙΩΝ having been converted into a fragmentary Anaktoriôn. The same not very trustworthy authority has given us a most tempting coin of Larissa reading ΛΑΡΙΣΑ and ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ (Mionnet. Med. Rom. ii. 17) which has never come to hand; this might, if genuine, commemorate some earlier Thessalian League before Kynoskephalai, but we much doubt its existence.

The cities geographically included in Akarnania of which coins remain are—Alyzia—Anaktorion—Argos Amphilochikon—Métropolis—Stratos—Hérakleia—Leukas—Sollion—Oiniadai—Thyrrhêon. The towns in this list which we have not noticed in detail do not immediately illustrate the Akarnanian League. They are for the most part Corinthian colonies, and their types are rather Corinthian than Akarnanian; hence their coins are chiefly interesting as throwing light upon the chaotic and extensive Corintho-colonial series rather than upon the League of Akarnania. A coin of Sollion published by M. de Longperier (Revue Num. vol. viii. 423) reads at full ΣΟΛΑΕΙΩΝ, as also does a different type from the collection of Baron Prokesch-Osten. The attribution of Corinthian-type didrachms reading MA to the Akarnanian Métropolis is adopted from Leake (Europ. Greece, 75), but it is not absolutely incontestable. The same remark applies to the coins given by the same authority (p. 54) to the Akarnanian Hérakleia, out of the multitudinous Greek cities of that name. (See however Leake's reasons for the attribution.) The other Akarnanian city-attributions are quite certain. M. Müller (Num. Alex. G. p. 178) publishes three tetradrachms of Alexander the Great inscribed OINIA, which had been classed by M. Pinder as struck at Oiniadai. M. Müller, I believe, rightly considers this only a Doric form of a magistrate's name.

initial portion of one or more magistrates' names.¹ Historically it EPEIROS. is impossible that these coins can be anterior to Alexander of Macedonia,² and, to judge merely by their fabric, a later date must be assigned to them.³ Colonel Leake⁴ would place the federal mint of the Epeirots at Dôdôna. His reasons for this supposition may be briefly stated thus: first, we have no coins of Dôdôna⁵ in its own name, nor of any other Epeirot city in the interior; the coining towns are all on the coast. Next, the types of these coins and most of their symbols relate to the worship of Zeus Dôdônaïos. Yet, with all respect for the high authority of Colonel Leake, the fact of no coins existing of Dôdôna in its own name makes more strongly against this town having been the federal mint, than in favour of such a supposition. Thyrhêon and Megalopolis issue their own municipal coinage side by side with the federal currency. Moreover the Epeirot League, wherever it struck, was likely to multiply allusions to Zeus of Dôdôna; the deified

¹ ΑΥΣΗΝ (Lysander) ΑΓΗΝ (Agênôr) ΔΕΡΔΑ; some pieces bear two names; most have monograms of doubtful interpretation. In the passage of Livy quoted in the text (p. 152, and again p. 599) which implies three Epeirot generals the names are Aeropos, *Darda*, and Philip. It is highly interesting that an Epeirot coin should give us ΔΕΡΔΑ. If we are to accept this as the same Darda of Livy we should get an Epeirot federal coin struck B.C. 204. The name however may have been common in Epeiros as in a dynasty of Elymiôtis (see Thirwall, viii. p. 98 note). In another passage of Livy (xxxii. 10) but one general is mentioned as *Prætor* with a *Magister Equitum* (p. 152). On these conflicting passages I may remark that I have seen a federal Epeirot coin which seems to bear three distinct names or portions of names. The last two of these, however, as I give them, are partly in monogram so that small stress can be laid upon them. They are ΑΥΣΗΝ, ΦΑΡΚΟ, and ΑΝΤ or ΑΤ. A drachm of the Kassôpaian type published by Leake seems to bear one name, and that at full length, ΑΥΚΙΣΚΟΞ (Supp. Num. Hell. p. 125) like the ΣΩΛΩΝΟΞ of Kassôpê; the former name is historical in both Ætolia and Akarnania.

² Epeiros became a Republic (B.C. 239—229) after the royal line had been massacred. (See text, 151.)

³ I know of a single small gold coin of federal Epeiros in the collection of E. Wigan, Esq. It bears a head of Dodônaian Zeus with a wreath, on one side. This head is of a more archaic and stiffer design than that on the federal drachms, where the hair is flowing and curled, here quite straight and simple. The other side gives the usual butting bull with ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ.

⁴ See Num. Hellen. sub Epeiros passim.

⁵ Dôdôna was almost deserted in the time of Strabo (vii. 7, sec. 9).

EPEIROS. Achelôos thus continually reappears on coins of various Akarnanian towns,¹ as well as on the federal coinage of that League.

Kassôpê. If any place is to be suggested for the Epeirot federal mint, the probabilities seem to point to Kassôpê. The resemblance in type between the federal drachms and those of this town is sufficiently noteworthy.² Neither is Kassôpê³ situated immediately on the coast, but, according to Leake, ten geographical miles north of Nikopolis at the modern Kamarína; sufficiently inland to have coined conjointly in one instance with the Molossians with whom the Kassôpaians marched to the North East. The ruins moreover of Kassôpê are among the most extensive in Northern Græce.⁴ ⁵

¹ Sc. Leukas, Oiniadai, Thyrrheôn and the federal coinage. The same head stands for the Arachthos perhaps rather than the Achelôos on coins of the Epeirot Ambrakia. Both rivers appear on another piece. See also Mionnet's coin of Stratos (Sup. Méd. Rom. iii. 472), which, however, I have never seen.

² The Zeus head and the Eagle on the thunderbolt is the common type of both. Kassôpê inscribes a magistrate ΣΑΛΩΝΟΣ, &c. like the federal drachms.

³ Leake himself afterwards speaks of the ruins of Kassôpê in "a lofty inland position" (p. 32, *Europ. Greece*). There seems to be some confusion between two places of the name Kassôpê or Kassôpaia. I find on some maps, I know not on what authority, a Kassôpaia marked about five miles N. E. of Passarôn, where the Kings of the Molossian Dynasty took their coronation oath. (Plut. Pyrrh. 5, cf. text, p. 151.) This would not be so very far from Dôdôna. There is besides the Kassiopê of Ptolemy placed nearly opposite the Korkyrean Kassôpê presumed by mistake (iii. 14). See Leake, *Cassope Epiri, Europe*, p. 32.

⁴ The federal didrachms with the busts of Zeus and Diônê, or perhaps Hêra, side by side, seem to me of rather later and more ornamented fabric than the drachms resembling the Kassôpaian ones, with the Zeus head and the Eagle on the thunderbolt; the drachm of the Zeus and Diônê type exists; I have never seen a didrachm of the Zeus and Eagle Kassôpaian type. There is, however, a beautiful silver drachm of Kassôpê, which bears an entirely different type, and reminds one of the more elaborate style of the federal didrachms, to the period of which it corresponds; this corroborates in some extent the hypothesis of a federal mint at Kassôpê. It bears a female head with a turreted diadem, probably Diônê, on one side, a serpent twined round a mystic kist with ΚΑΣΣΩΠΑΙΩΝ on the other.

The only specimen of this coin which I have seen is in the collection of General Fox. This last coin has been also given to Kassôpê or Kassiopê of Korkyra, apparently on no certain grounds.

⁵ The following towns and tribe-districts of Epeiros have left authenticated coins: Amantia and Orikon (rather Illyrian than Epeirot cities),

The coins of the Molossian Dynasty of Epeiros in a few instances throw some light upon the working of federalism in that country.

The
Molossian
Dynasty.

Ambrakia, Damastion, Kassôpé, Molossis (coining conjointly as Kassôpaian Molossians), Pandosia, and Phoinikê.

Buthrôton, and of course Nikopolis, coined only under the Roman Empire. The coins given to Thesprotia with the name of Pyrrhos, and to Eleatis in Thesprôtia will be discussed lower down. Damastion is certainly the oldest coining town in Epeiros; its coins are in some instances archaic. The accident of its contiguous silver mines rather than an earlier political importance must account for this (see Strabo, vii. 7). There are many similar instances.

Both Ambrakia and Kassôpé, as we should expect, record municipal magistrates on their coins. M. Müller gives us (p. 381) a diôbolos of Philip of Macedon, bearing the Achelôos head. This he classes to Ambrakia, and quotes Dio. Sic. xvii. 3, to prove that Philip occupied this town shortly before his death, but was never master of Akarnania, in which country this type is so common. M. Müller remarks that this Achelôos head also occurs on Corintho-colonial didrachms which must belong to Ambrakia. Leake suggests from its types that Damastion was colonized from Zacynthos. He also assigns the ruined walls of Dhramisiús as possibly the national mint of the Molossians. (Europe, Num. Hell. 44.)

The brass coin of the Molossians and Kassôpaians is extremely remarkable. It bears merely both these names in two wreaths one on either side the coin. The letters are rude and ill-formed, like those on the coins of Damastion; but in this case it seems rather the rudeness of barbarism than of antiquity. It is hard to conceive how the Molossians and Kassôpaians who issued good enough coins separately should have produced conjointly so clumsy a piece. It must surely have been issued by some rude intermediate tribe on the marches of both, assuming their joint names, or perhaps by the Kassôpaians while still in villages (Scylax, p. 12. Cf. Geog. Dict.). Again, seventy Molossian towns were, we know, destroyed by L. Æmilius. (See p. 666, and Pol. xxx. 15.)

I have given Elea on the authority of Col. Leake. (Elea Thesprotiæ. Europe, p. 48.) He there ascribes coins to this district reading ΕΛΕΑΙ (ΕΛεαῖοι) and bearing the type of Cerberus with ΘΕ added in one instance, as the Colonel would suppose, for ΘΕΣΠΙΡΩΤΩΝ. He believes these coins struck at Ephyrê afterwards Kichyros, in the Eleatis. See Mion. Sup. iii. 418. (Celtæ Aidonites.)

I cannot regard Col. Leake's attribution as at all certain, yet I prefer it to that of M. de Cadalvène who reads ΕΛΕΩ on these coins; and would class them to the Bœotian Heleon, a village of the Tanagrikê. (Strabo, ix. 2. sec. 12.) The British Museum specimen certainly reads ΕΛΕΑ.

The uncertain copper coins reading ΑΡΓΕΑΔΗΣ round a head of Zeus, and ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ ΕΡΕΤΗΣ round the bust of Artemis, are generally classed under federal Epeiros. Assuming this attribution as correct we are furnished with a parallel to the position of the priest of the Aktian Apollo in the Akarnanian League. Still the priest of Dôdôna appearing on the coinage would not make Dôdôna the federal mint, any more than the

EPEIROS. The Thesprôtians, in Thukydidean times ἀβασίλευτο,¹ have thus, according to Mionnet, left us a curious monument of their national existence in a coin bearing the head of Pyrrhos² as King coupled with their own name on the other side. Such a piece might be compared to an Irish halfpenny with King George's head, or with the Anglo-Gallic coins of some of our Henries and Edwards.

Thesprôtian coin of Pyrrhos.

This Thesprôtian coin seems to point to a quasi-federal relation towards the Kings.³

THESSALY.

THESSALY. The federal coinage of Thessaly dates from a much later period than the other federal currencies of Greece.⁴ We have not, and indeed we should hardly expect, any distinct numismatic record of Thessalian federalism during the pre-Macedonian period. It is possible, but not likely, that Thessaly would coin as a collective body while Macedon was supreme in Greece.⁵ Accordingly, our oldest

Its federal series not earlier than Kynoskephalai.

Aktian Apollo, which appears on the Akarnanian federal coinage struck at Thyrrhêon, would make Leukas the national mint of the League at that time.

¹ Thuc. ii. 80.

² Some of the beautiful coins of Pyrrhos were struck in Italy; some in Epeiros, perhaps from the same mintage-place as the federal Epeirot didrachms, be that Dôdôna or Kassôpê. Of his Italian coins, Consentia the capital of the Bruttians and Syracuse are, according to Leake, the principal mintage-places. Possibly Pyrrhos may have struck also at Ambrakia his Epeirot residence, and Taras.

³ I cannot guarantee the genuineness of this coin, only knowing it through Mionnet (sup. iii. 417), and no similar specimen existing in the English or French national collections. Still some of the silver pieces of Pyrrhos bear a letter and monogram perhaps resolvable into ΘΕΣΠ. This might be connected with a single isolated A on several of these coins, and also on a few of the federal Epeirot drachms, which might stand for Ambrakia or ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ as well as anything else, though such interpretations are merely here offered as suggestions. However, Colonel Leake would ascribe the British Museum tetradrachm, which bears this A, to Syracuse, and certainly other single letters occur on this king's coins. Some undoubted federal copper types of Epeiros merely bear ΑΠΙ which must stand for the name of the Epeirot League.

⁴ The federal silver of Thessaly are probably Æginetan drachms.

⁵ See as illustrating this at p. 154, Pol. iv. 9, where the Thessalians as a body are enumerated among the allies of Macedon; which seems to imply their country's nominal independence. Also, especially, the note at p. 541, on Pol. iv. 76, and p. 499.

coins inscribed ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ are little, if at all, anterior in date to the new Thessalian constitution of Flamininus and his resettlement of the country. Some few specimens, according to Leake the oldest, of this coinage bear the name of a single magistrate,¹ but the great mass are inscribed with two names;² whether these two names imply two magistrates is rather uncertain.³ At any rate in Thessaly under the Roman Emperors the coinage gives us one stratêgos; while a few apparently earlier coins of this community give likewise but one name, referring no doubt to the same

THESSALY.

Probably bears a single name, the Stratêgos.

¹ Generally in an abbreviated form ΠΑΥΣΑΝ, ΛΕΩΝ. The art on these particular coins is a trifle better than that of the main series, therefore Leake may be right in supposing them of a rather earlier date.

² The common type is the head of Zeus on one side. The Itônian Athêna throwing a spear on the other. This last figure is found also on the coins of some of the Macedonian kings when in possession of Thessaly. (Leake, Thessaly, Europ. Greece.)

³ Thessaly is of so little account in federal history that I shall merely state most briefly the intricate question of the number and interpretation of the magistrates' names on this federal series, reserving its more lengthened discussion for some subsequent opportunity elsewhere. Leake is of opinion that the earliest of these coins bear a single name, the later two names. One probably the Stratêgos, the other the Tagos, since both offices occur in Thessalian inscriptions of the last century before Christ. I am however inclined to suspect that the great mass of these coins bear only one name after all; the second name being nearly always in the genitive case or a patronymic. Thus ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΟΥ, ΔΑΜΟΘΟΙΝΟΥ ΠΛΟΕΝΙΑΔΗΣ. This one name would be the stratêgos. Thus Leake publishes one of these coins struck under Augustus which reads ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡ(ΟΣ) ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ; and on this point we may compare the ΑΙΣΧΡΙΩΝ ΑΙΣΧΡΙΩΝΟΣ—ΛΕΩΝ ΟΡΣΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ on federal Akarnanian drachms, in all which cases we must perforce interpret Aischriôn the son of Aischriôn, or Sôsandros son of Sôsandros, &c. Mionnet, and Leake in one instance, have published coins with both names in the genitive; such a specimen I have never seen. On the Thessalian quasi-federal coins under the Roman Empire, to which class the Sôsandros coin belongs, there is generally a single name with the office, the generalship, specified, as ΕΠΙ ΛΑΟΤΡΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ. There is much more to be said on this subject, but it is somewhat too technical for general interest. It is however worth notice that the second name, which I presume in the genitive, often elides its final τ as ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟ. The coins of Dyrrhakion and the Illyrian Apollônia bear two proper names, the second distinctly in the genitive. I have one silver coin of Federal Thessaly which distinctly bears three names; a duplicate of this is in the British Museum. I fancy however that in this exceptional case a third name, the grandfather, is added for distinction's sake from some previous General of the same name. (See Sestini, p. 67.)

THESSALY. office, distinctly mentioned, as we know, in the constitution of Flamininus, B.C. 197.¹

Unimportant in the history of federal coinage.

Federalism could not have found at any age a very congenial soil in Thessaly. Its city-confederacy could only have been of the loosest and most impermanent kind; liable to subversion, or at least temporary abeyance, at the pleasure of an ambitious Tagos,² or at the hands of any local or neighbouring tyrant.³ The town of Pherai in Thessaly coins about B.C. 300, in alliance with Larissa,⁴ and also with Atrax. The last alliance coin has been generally classed to the Boeotian Pharai or Pherai in alliance with Tanagra, of which we know this was a subordinate canton.⁵

¹ Magnésia and Perrhaibia had also leagues of their own set up by Flamininus, as well as Euboia. There are coins of the Magnésians (ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ) of this period struck at Demetrias (Liv. xxxv. 31), which resemble in style the coins of Federal Thessaly; as also of the Perrhaibians (ΠΕΡΡΑΙΒΩΝ). (See Num. Hell. under Magnésia.) The coins inscribed ΕΥΒΟΙΕΩΝ are probably of this period rather than that of Kallias (Text, p. 207). Chalkis or Eretria must have struck them.

² See above, pp. 152, 153.

³ Perhaps Alexander of Pherai and certainly Tisiphôn (on the coin Teisiphôn) have left coins. The tetradrachms of the former belong as Mr. C. Newton (Num. Chron. vii. p. 110) supposes, to a King of Paionia, and M. Lenormant (Trésor de Glyptique, &c. Rois Grecs, p. 41) corrects the attribution of the drachm given to Alexander of Pherai, as merely a coin of Alexander of Macedon. Still I think some drachms in the British Museum are probably rightly attributed to the former. We have very early coins of several Thessalian cities, though the federal coinage is only of a later date. Under the Roman Empire these cities cease to strike (see Leake, Numis. Hell. sub Thessalia), but the quasi-federal series continues. Leake also quotes a curious coin of this series dated with the 174th year of the Aktian æra (5th of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 143).

⁴ Huber Sale Catalogue, p. 29, and the British Museum. It reads ΦΕΡΑΙ, with a horse's head, and a lion's head as a fountain. On the other side ΑΑ with a man holding a bull by the horns.

⁵ I have altered the classification on the authority of a paper by M. A. Duchalais (Rev. Num. xviii. p. 255). What was before read ΤΑ—ΦΕ—Tanagra, Pherai, he reads ΑΤ—ΦΕ—Atrax, Pherai. The coin bears the half horse on one side—found, curiously enough, both on coins of the Boeotian Tanagra, as well as many Thessalian cities—and the ear of wheat, or what M. Duchalais, I fancy rightly, calls a bud of the Hellebore, on the other. He also suggests alliances between Pherai and the Athamanians, Argæa, and Kasthaneia respectively, and publishes coins of analogous type reading ΦΕ—ΑΘ, ΦΕ—ΑΡ, and ΦΕ—ΚΑ. These last are not improbable, but perhaps not as yet incontestably established by the coins there published. For instance ΦΕ—ΑΡ (sic) may be merely ΦΕ, ΡΑ, as Pherai is often written

THE ATHAMANES, AMYNANDER.

It is worth recording that we have coins struck by the Athamanes. THEATHA-
MANES,
AMYNAN-
DER. These were hardly an Hellenic nation, and are reckoned by Strabo among the Thessalians, by Pliny as *Ætolians*.¹ In Leake's opinion their national mint was at their capital Argitheia.² Mr. Waddington has published a satisfactory coin of their king A^ϑAMANON.³ As his reign was the most prominent epoch in the history of this tribe, without doubt the coins reading A^ϑAMANON must be referred to about 200 B.C.

BŒOTIA.

The federal series of Bœotia and the municipal coinage of BŒOTIA. Thebes, the mintage-place of both, extend concurrently over at least four or five hundred years: these coins are, in consequence, of extreme interest, from the variety and excellence of art at different epochs with which they furnish us. The earliest coins are of great antiquity.⁴ It is not too much to assert that there have come down to us coins of each of the three distinct Bœotian periods;⁵ although, in most cases, we can only approximately guess at the date of the particular specimen under inspection.⁶ The great mass, however, were doubtless struck during the second period, that is the

ΦΕΡΑΙ and ΦΕΡΑΙΟΝ. The ΦΕ—KA may be ΦΕ—RA, blundered or misread, as the engraving of the other side of this coin seems to bear other letters not explained. The alliance too with the Athamanians seems strange, though this coin reads clearly enough on the plate. This ΑΘ or ΘΑ may mean other places besides Athamania. For instance we have ΑΣΤΟ inscribed on coins of Pherai, hardly explainable by an alliance.

¹ Strabo, ix. 5, sec. 13, Pliny, iv. 2. cf Smith, Dict. of Geog. sub Athamania.

² See Livy, xxxviii. 1. "Caput Athamaniae."

³ Revue Numismatique, vol. 25, p. 104. On A^ϑmy^ϑander see text, p. 586, and elsewhere.

⁴ See for instance two highly curious archaic didrachms (Suppl. Numis. Hell. pp. 177, 178), one Theban, the other Bœotian, both of which Col. Leake considers not much, if at all, later than 600 B.C. The angular alpha and beta, the crossed theta, and the circle with a central dot for omicron, are here found.

⁵ On the three periods of Bœotian history, see p. 159.

⁶ The usual type of the Bœotian buckler and the diota or pitcher is the

ΒΟΕΩΤΙΑ. period of Theban greatness, down to the city's destruction by Alexander.
B.C. 387-334.

The coins, however, with archaic types or letters, can be distinctly assigned to the first federal period; while there are many coins both federal and Theban, at least in copper, whose fabric would date them long subsequent to 334 B.C.¹

The distinction between the federal series and the municipal series of Thebes merely verbal.

In this League, however, where Thebes was everything, and where the terms ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ and ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ were to all intents equivalent and synonymous,² it is of no great historical importance to attempt rigidly to separate the city and federal coinage beyond same on the coins of Federal Boeotia, as on those of Thebes striking on her own account. The head of Dionysos, and Hēraklēs stringing his bow or strangling the serpents, &c., are also found on Theban coins. When such coins read ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ they are assigned to the federal series; to the city series, those which bear ΘΕΒΗ, ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ, ΘΕΒΑΙΩΝ, or any other orthographical variations of the city name. Intermediate between these is the class of coins identical with them in type, weight, &c., but which merely bear a magistrate's name; these may fairly be considered federal coins also, as the name they bear must be the Archon Epōnymos of the Boeotarchs; to this class the Epameinōndas coin hereafter to be noticed belongs. It is somewhat curious, that when a magistrate's name does occur on these didrachms, it occurs *alone*; all mention of Thebes or the Boeotians is left out. In like manner we get ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ or ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ indifferently, but no magistrate. I am mainly speaking of the didrachmic currency of the second period in this generalisation. The list of magisterial names is a curious one enough; here are a few out of many in their abbreviated forms which have come under my personal observation. ΗΙΚΕ (Mionnet gives also ΗΙΣΜΕ), ΕΠΙΑΜΙ, ΧΑΡΟ with the long R, ΕΥΡΑΡΑ (Εὐράρης, Εὐράρατος), ΦΑΣΤ (δορύνομος, δορυμήδων), ΚΑΙΩΝ (dialectic form of ΚΑΕΩΝ), &c. &c. The interpretations are Colonel Leake's (see also some additional names in Suppl. to Numis. Hell. Europe, p. 117). Another didrachm reads ΑΒΙ; one is reminded of the Boeotarch Aboiōkritos (Plut. Ar. 16, or rather Amaiokritos, Pol. xx. 4. See text, p. 375), who is slain on the side of Aratos during his first generalship. Still very few of these federal didrachms would be as late as this. In the name ΧΑΡΟ we find the archaic arrow-headed form of the X as the initial letter. This may be Charōn the partisan of Pelopidas. (Xen. Hell. v. 4, 3, cf Geog. Dict.) There are a few small gold coins of Thebes.

¹ A very late Theban copper coin struck close upon Roman times apparently commemorates a fifth Archonship (ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ ΠΕΜΤΑΟ (*sic*)). On the shadow of the Boeotian League which continued during the Roman Empire, see p. 185, note. There are late copper coins, probably Theban, bearing merely a magistrate's name with the head of Hēraklēs and the bow, club, &c. which read ΦΕΙΔΟ—ΑΙΚΙΝΩ—ΠΥΠΠΙ—and so on. The last, Mionnet (Sup. iv. 235) strangely misclassifies to the Lakōnian Pyrrhichos.

² On "Theban" and "Boeotian" see pp. 160, 161.

the verbal distinction above mentioned; even were the two series ΒΕΟΤΙΑ. not so identical in type, and apparently synchronous in commencement and duration.

We might expect historically speaking that the majority of earlier specimens should read ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ, the great mass of later ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ, as the ascendancy of Thebes became more prominent during the second period; but the political preponderance of Thebes is not illustrated in any marked degree by a contrast of the earlier with the later coins.

A coin in the British Museum of the usual didrachmic type bears upon it the name of Epameinôndas.¹ This must be the name of some Archon Epônymos of the college of Bœotarchs as deputed by the several cities constituting the League; and although it is conceivable that there may have been a second Epameinôndas, who was Archon during Bœotian League history, yet there is every probability of this coin referring to the greatest of that name.

One of the most noticeable facts in the coinage of Bœotia, is the very remarkable monetary league existing between some of its towns; pieces precisely similar, and obviously contemporaneous, were issued in the names of the following towns: Hariartos or Haliartos—Lebadeia—Orchomenos—Plataia—Tanagra—Thespia.²

¹ It reads ΕΠΙΑΜΙ distinctly; above the diota is a rose. Mr. Burgon was the first I believe to point out this coin's attribution. (See also Poole, "Numismatics," *Encycl. Britannica*.) The coin evidently belongs to the middle Theban period. (See the coins which Col. Leake assigns to Euphrôn of Sikyôn, the contemporary of Epameinôndas, *Num. Hell. European Greece*, p. 164.)

² These coins are copper, with the buckler on one side, part of the city's name on the other.

The coin of Hariartos, no less than the one of Lebadeia, are the only specimens known, as far as I am aware, of their coinage under this town alliance; hence there is every probability of our list of towns in this monetary League receiving additions. Mr. Burgon, and subsequently I believe Colonel Leake, pointed out the existence of this League; the similarity of these coins must strike any one studying at all the series of Bœotia. Hariartos is a new addition to their list of towns included under it. We may presume, for instance, a similar coin of Délion, as an alliance between Tanagra and Délion is commemorated by a possibly authentic coin given by Mionnet, Barthélemy, and others. Korôneia and Délion are also supposed to strike in alliance, but this attribution is hardly certain. Leake compares with the six-city league a similar monetary alliance which he places in Attica among towns near the Bœotian frontier. He suggests out of coins of this class

A coin of Epameinôndas.

The Bœotian six-city monetary league.

ΒΑΕΩΤΙΑ. In this instance, we have the most conclusive evidence of a league—for the purposes, at least, of striking money—entered into between these towns; it seems nowise unfair, having established thus much, to suspect and infer stronger and more complicated provisions of federal union between the component members of such a community.

A common mint for this monetary league.

I should prefer to believe that one common mint existed for these six towns, and probably others of whom corresponding coins have not yet come to light; such a supposition seems the simpler mode of accounting for the contemporaneous issues of six or more towns, differing in nothing but part of the particular city name stamped upon them. Doubtless this system of one mint for a surrounding district was common enough in antiquity, though I have never seen any stress laid upon this circumstance.

Plataia, Thespia, Tanagra, and Orchomenos destroyed by Thebes within a few years of each other.

It is remarkable that four out of six of these very towns, Plataia, Thespia, Tanagra, and Orchomenos were destroyed by Thebes within a few years of each other. It is stated in the text that the dates of these events are uncertain; Plataia was destroyed soon after Leuktra, Thespia however and Tanagra fell before that battle.¹ The fabric of these alliance coins seems rather subsequent to these events, otherwise it would be interesting to refer the date of this monetary league to the period immediately preceding Leuktra. Their old alliances however would naturally be renewed, as often as events required or permitted in the subsequent history of these towns.²

possible attributions to Attic *dêmes*, mentioning the border towns Psaphis and Orôpos. (Numis. Hellen. sub Thespiæ.) These coins are not so very unlike the Bœotian; the head of Pallas replaces the shield on one side, the other bears a single and varying initial letter. I prefer Col. Leake's attribution of these coins, though they must still at best remain doubtful, to that of Baron Prokesch-Osten (Revue Numismatique, 1860), who would ingeniously interpret Ω—P—Δ— and Γ on coins of this class into a Peloponnésian League of Olênos, Rhypai, Dipai, and Gortys. These towns are however so far apart and the evidence for this attribution so scanty that I prefer leaving the point as Col. Leake has put it. M. L. Müller had attributed previously similar coins to Mantinea, Psôphis, Olênos, Patrai, and Rhipa. M. Dumersan gives one to Tegea.

¹ On the dates of the destruction of these towns, see p. 174.

² On cities in frequent alliance without any absolute federal tie, see pp. 34 and 35, in the text.

The coins of this six-town league do not seem to be older from their fabric

There is little doubt that there were local Archons in the different Bæotia. Bæotian cities. Besides an inscription later than the period of Local Kassander's restoration of Thebes,¹ we may notice a coin of Orcho- archons found menos with a distinct magistrate's name ΕΥΔΟΠΟ.² This didrachm on the coinage. is certainly as early as the second period.³

The following Bæotian cities have left authenticated coins: Bæotian Kôpai—Korôneia—Délion—Haliartos⁴—Lebadeia—Mykalessos⁵ coining cities. —Orchomenos—Pharai—Plataia—Tanagra—Thespia.⁶ The

than 300 B.C. Mr. Burgon dated them between 100 and 200 B.C. This is surely, however, too late.

¹ See above, p. 164, on the inscription in Boeckh (i. 729).

² Erchomenos is the invariable numismatic form of the city's name. The only exception I know is the nearly unique coin of the six-city league which reads OPX. This fact besides their fabric would point a rather later date to this class of coins.

³ Still it is possible that this Orchomenian may have been *federal* Archon, and therefore commemorated as a matter of pride on his native town's coinage as well. The didrachms of Orchomenos corresponding to the federal ones of the second Theban period, inscribe however both town name and magistrate according to the general rule elsewhere. The name ΕΥΔΟΠΟ (Eudôros), mentioned above, appears as ΕΥ followed by ΕΡΧ. This is merely mentioned to contrast the leading Bæotian city after Thebes, with Thebes itself and her federal coinage. I would rather give the beautiful hemidrachms usually classed to Orchomenos with the head of Persephonê to Eretria in Eubœia.

⁴ I have seen two specimens of early silver coins of Haliartos or Hariartos; they read ΑΠΙΑΤΙΟΝ. I cannot doubt the authenticity of one of them. (Gen. Fox's collection.) The "grassy" Haliartos (Strabo, ix. 2, sec. 18) was destroyed in the war against Perseus (ix. 2, sec. 30). A hemidrachm of this town in the collection of Baron Prokesch-Osten exactly resembles that of Délion but reads ΑΡ instead of ΔΙ. A didrachm in the British Museum probably bears the same legend but the lettering is not very distinct.

⁵ Pharai and Mykalessos were in Strabo's time mere villages of the Tanagrikê. Délion is mentioned as merely a temple of Apollo. Their coinage attests an earlier importance.

⁶ Thespia and Tanagra alone continue to strike frequent autonomous coins close on Roman times; we know from Strabo that these were the only flourishing Bæotian towns under Augustus (ix. 2, sec. 25)—of the rest names only and ruins remained. Thespia, Tanagra, and Orchomenos have left coins corresponding in style, date, and in many respects in type, with the main federal or Theban series of Æginetan didrachms. A remarkable tetradrachm of Attic weight bearing a seated Poseidôn is an anomaly in this last series. The large Gorgonian-headed pieces given to Korôneia are also on the Attic scale, and are sometimes ascribed to Athens and also to the Macedonian Neapolis, once Daton, but no attribution is certain. We should expect a very old coinage at Korôneia, the seat of the Bæotian Amphiktyony, out of which the political

ΒΕΟΤΙΑ. coins of Delion read ΔΙ in the Bœotian dialectic form.¹ This has tempted some persons to attribute them to Dionysia.

Many other Bœotian towns have had coins ascribed to them with more or less uncertainty. Erythrai and Ismênê are among these.

The eleven or thirteen Bœotarchs. It is worth notice that the list here given of Bœotian coining towns, without Thebes, amounts to eleven. We are thus left with eleven cities who might have sent the eleven Bœotarchs; Thebes furnishes two more. I do not pretend that subsequent numismatic research may not almost certainly add to or diminish my list. Still it is curious that the numbers should so nearly agree with the passage of Thucydides.²

OLYNTHOS AND CHALKIDIKE (B.C. 382).

OLYNTHOS AND CHALKIDIKE (B.C. 382.) A silver coin bearing the head of Apollo on one side with the inscription ΟΛΥΝΘ, a lyre with ΧΑΛΚΙΑΕΩΝ on the other,³ may be accepted in all certainty as a coin of the Chalkidic Confederacy, struck at its capital Olynthos. This coin in type nearly resembles the beautiful tetradrachms and drachms of what we may call the federal coinage of the Macedonian Chalkidians. These last coins read merely ΧΑΛΚΙΑΕΩΝ with the addition of the name of the head federal magistrate, ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ, ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝ, ΕΠΙ ΑΣΚΑΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΟ, and are likewise to be referred to the most

A coin of Olynthos inscribing itself of the Chalkidian League.

Bœotian League had its rise. (See text, pp. 159—160.) There are certain smaller coins reading ΚΟΡΟ. Dêlion strikes with the pitcher and buckler, but her coins are much smaller and lighter than the didrachms of the main series, and are probably drachms and hemidrachms of the same Æginetan scale. M. Müller (p. 209) publishes coins of various denomination with types of Alexander the Great and Philip of Macedon, supposed to have been struck at Thebes or at least in Bœotia. These bear the Bœotian buckler as a symbol accompanied, on the coins of Alexander, by the staff of Dionysos in some instances. I think this attribution is stronger than many of M. Müller's. But we get this buckler also at Salamis.

¹ Cf. Leake, sub Pharæ, Mycalessus, Delium.

² iv. 91. See text, 161, 162, on this passage and the doubt between eleven or thirteen Bœotarchs.

Mykalessos was perhaps only another constituent of Tanagra and not a voting city. Its coinage is unimportant and not very early. Dêlion was in early times probably a voting city though it afterwards declined.

³ In the British Museum (36 grs.). See also Millingen, *Coins of Greek Cities*, p. 45. On the Olynthian League see text, pp. 190—197.

flourishing period of this confederacy. According to Leake, these Chalkidians never had any city Chalkis, but Torône, Apollônia, and last Olynthos were successively adopted as their capital.

OLYNTHOS
AND CHAL-
KIDIKE.

The coins of Bottiaia differ only in the substitution of their own name for that of the Chalkidians round the lyre: we have thus conclusive proof that this town was included in the confederacy.^{1 2}

Coinage of
Bottiaia
analogous
in type.

Col. Leake supposes that these federal Chalkidic tetradrachms were issued at the Chalkidian Apollônia; but surely the coin first described of Olynthos would make this last city the federal mint, even did we not know that Apollônia, so far from being the centre or capital of this League, was, with Akanthos, one of its most violent opponents (see p. 192).

The only gold coin of the Chalkidians with which I am acquainted³ was probably struck during the last years of Olynthos, at some time previous to its capture by Philip in B.C. 347. This coin seems contemporaneous with the beautiful staters of Philippi minted by that king, as in European Greece hardly any gold was coined before his reign. The gold mine of Philippi⁴ no doubt supplied the

Its gold
coinage not
long an-
terior to
its capture
by Philip.

¹ The types of the Chalkidian copper are the wreathed head of Apollo, with the lyre or the tripod on the other side. A comparison of these types with those of neighbouring Macedonian cities leads to the suspicion that a large class of coins might be set aside as struck under the influence, or about the time, of the Chalkidic League. We may suggest that points of resemblance occur in the Apollo on coins of Orthagoria, which Col. Leake hence places at the modern Nizvoro in the Chalkidic peninsula, denying its identity with Stageira. A beautiful specimen of this type in General Fox's collection puts this resemblance in a very striking light.

² Leake (Supplement, Num. Hellen. Europe, 118) distinguishes between these Chalkidic Bottiaians on their coinage *BOTTIAION*, and the Bottiatai of Macedonia on their coins *BOTTEATON*. These last were in the neighbourhood of Pella between the Axios and the Haliakmôn, as there is a Mygdonian as well as a Chalkidian Apollônia.

Similarities of type and fabric also occur on the coins of Pella which we know was included in the Chalkidic Confederacy. (See Xen. Hell. v. 2. 13, and text, p. 192, note.)

³ A stater in the collection of Edward Wigan, Esq. The omission of the magistrate's name seems at first sight significant; but Mionnet (see p. iii. 60) describes a similar stater on which he gives ΕΠΙ ΟΑΥΜΗΙΚΟΥ. The omission in the present instance must be merely from want of room, as the letters are already minute on the tetradrachms.

⁴ Philip of Macedon gave the name Philippi to Krénides and discovered, or at all events, first worked extensively the neighbouring gold mine. The first coinage of gold in Greece proper is connected with this fact. The

OLYNTHOS
AND CHAL-
KIDIKE.

metal for this Chalkidian stater as well. It follows the type of the tetradrachms omitting the magistrate's name. The fact which this coin seems to indicate is that Olynthos had still vitality or pretension enough to strike pieces inscribed ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ at some period after the virtual dissolution of her League by Sparta in B.C. 379, and before her capture by Philip in B.C. 347. No doubt after Leuktra all serious fear of Spartan interference would be at an end.¹

ARKADIA.

ARKADIA.

A very
early
federal
coinage.

The federal coinage of Arkadia is peculiarly valuable as testifying to the existence of a distinct germ of federalism in the Peloponnese at a very early period. The decidedly archaic character of these coins leaves no doubt of their being much older than the Arkadian League of Lykomédēs and the foundation of Megalopolis. It is sufficient for our purpose to have established thus much, without endeavouring to determine their exact antiquity.²

gold coin of Thasos struck on the mainland near Krénides, and one of Ainos (Num. Chron. iii. p. 106, cf Müller, p. 59) are about the only gold pieces known in Northern Greece anterior to Philip. Strabo (vii. frag. 17) speaks of the whole region about Mount Pangaios as auriferous. Perhaps the Chalkidians knew of and worked these mines before Philip. Last we must notice in connection with these mines the most remarkable gold coin in the Paris collection reading ΘΑΣΙΩΝ ΗΓΗΕΙΡΟ (ΘΑΣΙΩΝ ΗΓΗΕΙΡΟΤ. Leake, Num. Hell. Insular Greece, p. 45.) This bears with the head of Héraklēs on one side, a tripod, as on the coins of Philippi, on the other. Col. Leake dates this from the lettering to the fifth century B.C., and believes it struck from the Thasian mines on the mainland at their capital and haven Daton. (Herod. ix. 75.) This town stood close to Neapolis the port of Philippi. M. Müller (p. 41) supposes this very coin struck either at Krénides, afterwards Philippi, by the Thasians, or by them in alliance with that town. It is however very doubtful whether the Thasians had possession of Krénides much before 360 B.C. (see Geog. Dict. "Philippi"). M. Müller (p. 44) also finds the tripod of Philippi on coins of Amphipolis, and the torch of Amphipolis on coins of Philippi. He remarks that these two symbols appear together on coins of Philip and Alexander. M. Müller would hence infer an alliance between these towns.

¹ Col. Leake publishes (Num. Hell. European Greece, p. 33) a smaller silver coin of the Chalkidians with what he suggests may possibly be the Persian countermark. The Colonel is however by no means sure of the fact and puts a note of interrogation after it. I have never seen any Chalkidian coin which looked as old as the Persian invasion.

² Mr. Poole (Encycl. Britan. "Numismatics") represents these coins as being at least of the sixth century B.C. and in denomination chiefly hemi-

On one of the earliest of these coins we find the legend ARKA-
 ΔΙΩΝ in archaic letters¹ round the head of Despoina. Zeus
 Aietophoros² is seated on the other side. Other coins exist of this
 series more or less archaic in character.³

ARKADIA.
 Archaic
 coinage of
 Lyko-
 soura.

Concurrently with this early federal coinage of Arkadia must
 have existed the power of striking money in its different town
 districts. Hêraia, Kleitôr, and Mantinea, have each left us coins of
 a remote antiquity. Hêraia especially in the most archaic orna-
 mentation of its coinage bears the impress of very early times.⁴

Also of
 Hêraia,
 Kleitôr,
 and Man-
 tineia.

Nowhere did so many towns little more than villages strike at
 various periods in Grecian history, considering the extent of its geo-
 graphical area, as in Arkadia. The physical configuration of the
 country would naturally break up the inhabitants into a number
 of small detached city-centres. These would be determined by the
 fortuitous accessibility between different mountain valleys: all Arka-
 dians however were united, at least in theory, by the bond of a
 supposed community of origin lost in a remote antiquity.⁵

Colonel Leake has with great probability selected Lykosoura as
 the mintage-place of the earlier federal coinage of Arkadia, which
 must be carefully distinguished from the later federal Arkadian

The later
 federal
 series of
 Megalo-
 polis.

drachms struck upon the Æginetan system, or, what are about the same
 weight, Attic tetrobola. (48 grs. or 45 grs.)

B.C. 370-
 362.

¹ This coin is in the British Museum. Col. Leake observes that its
 legend contains both the K and the Koph (ϙ). the original of the Latin Q.
 ΑΡΚΑΔΙΩΝ is like ΦΕΝΙΚΟΝ of Pheneus, that is KOMMA or ΣΗΜΑ,
 hardly ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ, understood.

² The bird flies from his hand. E. Curtius in the Beiträge zur Alteren
 Münzkunde, p. 87, would suggest Zeus ἀφείσιος.

³ Mr. Grote (vol. x. 283 and note) is apparently in doubt on the date of
 certain coins of Arkadia as illustrating the germs of Pan-Arkadian union,
 whether any such can be confidently dated before Leuktra.

⁴ The acorn of Mantinea is regarded by Mr. Poole (Encycl. Britan.
 "Numismatics") as a trace of a primæval nature-worship. Cf. Βαλαρη-
 φάγος in the Herodotean Oracle.

⁵ The ΑΡΚΑΔΙΩΝ coin would be called by numismatists Arkadia
in genere; so the coins reading ΦΑΛΕΙΩΝ would be called Elis *in genere*.
 This technical and somewhat awkward expression I have rendered where-
 ever I could "Federal." Elis, a city with a district, and Arkadia, a system
 of towns with no predominant city, should not be included under one
 common sweeping term. It is worth notice that there is no perfectly
 authenticated coining city in the district of Elis. Polybios remarks on
 the rural habits of the Eleians, some of whom never went to the city for
 three generations.

ARKADIA. series, which belongs to the era of the foundation of Megalopolis,¹ and was therefore struck under the Arkadian League B.C. 370. of Lykomédês. Megalopolis had now become the federal mint, as is evident from the identity of its city coins with the federal coinage of this period, and instances where Megalopolis inscribes herself in monogram "of the Arkadians." The late foundation of Megalopolis is peculiarly valuable to the numismatist, as giving him, what is seldom accessible in the Greek city series, a distinct date. By this he is able to estimate the age of the coins of neighbouring Arkadian towns as posterior or anterior to the League of Lykomédês, and to gain a stand-place of firm ground whereby he may attribute with increased certainty the coins of this League themselves.²

¹ The new Messênê also commemorates her foundation under similar auspices by beautiful didrachms analogous to the federal ones of Megalopolis.

² The finest of these silver coins, a didrachm of Æginetan scale, bears on one side Pan seated on the Arkadian Olympos, with APK in monogram and OATM in small letters on the rock. This Olympos was Mount Lykaïos, called also in Pausanias "the sacred summit of the Arkadians." (Arcad. c. 38, cf. Leake, sub Arcadia.) The other side gives us the head of Zeus. The numerous smaller silver coins of Megalopolis itself are identical in type and only differ in many instances from the smaller federal coinage, thence issued also, in reading MEF instead of APK. The copper of Megalopolis generally bear besides uninterpreted letters and monograms with possible reference to League magistrates' names. Sometimes on these silver hemidrachms (Æginetan) we have both MEF (Megalopolis) and APK (Arkadôn); that is to say, we have Megalopolis distinctly inscribing herself as a constituent of the League of Lykomédês. This is more frequent on the copper currency of Megalopolis struck during this League. (See Leake, Suppl. to Num. Hellen. Europe, p. 133.) The copper type is an eagle on a thunderbolt and more rarely the Pan seated, with the head of Zeus.

There yet remains a rather indeterminate and numerous class of federal Arkadian coins in silver and copper—the last rather thick—all bearing the head of Pan or Zeus with a large APK in monogram, or A spreading over the whole coin on the other side, below it a pan-pipe. These are neither archaic enough for Lykosoura nor much like the remaining federal coinage of Megalopolis.

Col. Leake publishes a not uncommon small copper coin of Pheneos whereon he reads ΦΕΝΕΩΝ "with a horse feeding to right, under it AP united (Ἀρκάδων)." If the Colonel's proposed interpretation be correct, the coin is noteworthy as showing the more extended recognition of the Arkadian League of Lykomédês. (See Leake, Suppl. Num. Hell. p. 140.) Pheneos has, however, inscribed on a contemporaneous didrachm the name of Arkas the eponymos hero of her country, and her own mythical King. Probably the AP merely refers to him. Another coin of Pheneus bears ΣΙΜΟΞ beneath a ram.

The foundation of Megalopolis must have given an immense impulse to numismatic art¹ throughout Peloponnésos. The Arkadian didrachms struck there within a few years of its foundation show an immense progress at least in execution when contrasted with the earlier Arkadian series of Lykosoura. .

ARKADIA.
The rise of
Megalopolis an
era in numismatic
art.

From the period of the foundation of Megalopolis I am tempted to date the appearance of a class of coins, utterly unlike anything that preceded or succeeded them in Peloponnésos, both in the beauty of their execution and the violent treatment, and for the most part mythological symbolism, of the subjects represented. The other side of these coins bears a beautiful but rather over-elaborate head of Nymph or Goddess. The typical specimen of this class, is the fine Æginetan-scale didrachm of Stympthalos, giving us the head of Artemis laurel-wreathed on one side; a naked Héraklès in the very act of striking with his club, treated in highly exaggerated action, on the other.² There is a curious relation between this class of coins and certain Cretan types.³

Next to the didrachm of Stympthalos⁴ in artistic importance, and of analogous fabric and evidently contemporaneous issue, is the didrachm of Pheneos.⁵ This gives us, with the head of Démêtér, Coins of Pheneos, Tegea, and Achaia belonging to this class.

¹ The impulse given to numismatic art may be accepted as a fair index of the magnitude of this movement in other respects.

² Col. Leake publishes from the Paris National Collection (Num. Hell. Europe, p. 164) another perfectly analogous didrachm of Stympthalos. On this Héraklès naked on one knee draws an arrow. One of the Stympthalidès is flying on the other side.

³ Especially the didrachm (Æginetan) of Chersonasos in Crete, almost a copy of the Stympthalian didrachm. I shall refer to this point again under Achaia. The didrachms of Pheneos, Stympthalos, and a few others, are a class within a class, and are like enough to have been issued from a common mint. Again, the didrachms of Messénè and the Federal Arkadian didrachm of Megalopolis are evidently by their style contemporaneous, even without history to help us, but no one could ever conceive their being minted at the same place; thus, as we extend our radius the points of similarity between the didrachmic series of the Peloponnèse are broader and much less exact. The difficulties of the Cretan question, of which no quite satisfactory explanation has yet been given, touch only this class within the class.

⁴ The didrachm of Stympthalos weighs within three grains of the federal didrachm of Megalopolis above described.

⁵ In the British Museum. Col. Leake's didrachm actually reads ΑΡΚΑΞ besides ΦΕΝΕ. (European Greece, Addenda, p. 163.) The Colonel inter-

ARKADIA. often found on this class of coins, a piece of highly dramatized mythology; Hermès, in motion, bears the caduceus in one hand, while on his left arm he is carrying off the infant Arkas; the child points the god melodramatically forward. Next, a smaller silver coin of Tegea with a naked warrior combating to the right would infer the existence of a corresponding didrachm struck by this town. Again, another silver coin bears a nymph's head like the Dêmêtêr of Pheneos, with a combating Artemis; it reads AXAION.¹ This curious coin was probably struck between B.C. 280 and 251, while the League was strictly Achaian. I need hardly say that it has nothing in common with the usual and subsequent silver type of the Achaian League. Last, to omit less important instances, we have the drachm of Argos whereon Diomede is represented stealing the Palladium, also to be counted with the foregoing, since the subject chosen for commemoration as well as its treatment is eminently characteristic of this class.

Didrachms
of Argos,
Elis, and
Messênê.

In fact, to attempt a generalisation founded upon a broad similarity in weight, style, and subject, I would refer the whole un-archaic Æginetan didrachmic series of Peloponnêsos, with its corresponding subdivisions, in its commencement, to the foundation of Megalopolis. The Hêra and the Zeus didrachms of Elis, the ornate Hêra Antheia of the same coins at Argos, the Dêmêtêr and the naked Zeus Ithômâtês launching a thunderbolt of Messênê,—are the important constituents of this currency. In the case of the Messénian didrachm there can be no doubt about its date; the extreme similarity it bears to the federal didrachms of Megalopolis, coupled with the fact of the erection of the later capital of Messênê by Epameinôndas B.C. 369,

prets the action of the type somewhat differently from the text. Another drachm of Pheneos in the British Museum has a Hermes seated amid rocks, reminding one of the Pan on the Arkadian Olympos of the federal series.

¹ In the British Museum, probably an Æginetan-scale hemidrachm, as were the later League silver coins. This coin must have been one of the very last struck before the uniform League type came in. It shows that the above class of coins in its wider acceptation was, probably, the silver currency of the Peloponnêse from the rise of Megalopolis through the earlier years of the Achaian League. No doubt the great bulk were struck in the brilliant period of the influence of Epaminôndas and Lykomêdês. The first currency of the Achaians may perhaps intentionally have revived to some degree the style of the period of the Lykomêdês League.

the year after the foundation of Megalopolis, establishes beyond question the period of its own issue; and makes us suspect that the other Peloponnesian didrachms of analogous art began to be struck also about this period.¹

I would further suggest that this didrachmic currency and its subdivisions continued to be struck throughout the Peloponnèse to some extent during the whole century between the commencement of the League of Lykomédès and the first few years of the Achaian League, after which the uniform types "of the Achaians" must have superseded the rest,² as the different states of Peloponnésos entered the League.

The uniform Achaian League types must have superseded other Peloponnesian currencies.

LYKIA.

The Lykian League, of which we derive our information from the account of Strabo, furnishes an excellent example of a symmetrical numismatic illustration of history.

With the early coins of this country with Lykian inscriptions, we have little or no concern. It is uncertain how early these com-

The coins with Lykian characters

¹ Perhaps the didrachms of Zakynthos and Sikyôn are contemporaneous in commencement and owing to the same influence. I do not mean to say that the Æginetan system was not found, and pretty general, throughout Peloponnésos, before the foundation of Megalopolis, but only that the great mass of didrachms with these kind of representations and of this kind of art began to be struck then in Peloponnésos. There occur here some few archaic didrachms of course long anterior to Megalopolis.

² Indications exist of possible monetary leagues in Arkadia. As for example, to judge by their small silver coinage, possibly at one time between Hêraia and Mantinea.

Kleitôr — Hêraia — Mantinea — Megalopolis — Pheneos — Stymphalos — Tegea — Thelpousa — are the Arkadian coining cities before the times of the Achaian League. We may perhaps add Alea to this list. The coin of the Achaian League struck there, and the bow which appears above AA on this piece, which is not a League type, would support this attribution against Alos in Thessaly. Pausanias specially mentions a temple of Artemis at Alea, and places the town near Stymphalos. I have a copper coin of this town, found in the Peloponnèse, and Col. Leake remarks that copper coins are seldom found far from where they are struck. I have an impression from Baron Prokesch-Osten of probably the identical coin of Alea published by Cadalvene (Rec. de Med. grecq.). Cf. Mionnet Sup. Med. Rom. iv. 273. On Arkadia, see text, pp. 197-207. Tegea commemorates on a coin her mythical King Aleus, founder of Alea.

LYKIA. commenced, or when they ceased being issued. Sir Charles Fellows immaterial in the numismatic history of its League. has attributed some of these coins to the towns to which they probably belong; but the Lykian alphabet continues as yet too much a vexed philological puzzle to insist absolutely on the correctness of his interpretations. Sir Charles Fellows has also published¹ a tetradrachm of Alexander the Great with the Lykian triquetra or hooked ring upon it, probably struck in or near this country; ² the same authority, rightly, I believe, considers all Lykian city coins with Greek inscriptions posterior to the conquests of Alexander. Col. Leake would seem to imply that the language held out into a still later period; he says, this ceased to be employed in writing about the time of Augustus; bilingual inscriptions of an earlier date show that it was already going into disuse.³

Greek legends come in with Alexander.

Although then, judging by the tetradrachm of Alexander, coins of Lykian cities with Greek legends were issued probably from about the time of Alexander downwards, superseding with more or less rapidity that earlier currency with Lykian inscriptions, yet the series of the Lykian League, properly so called, must be given to a much later date. Most coins of this interesting League series belong to about

¹ Coins of Ancient Lycia before the reign of Alexander, by Sir Charles Fellows, 1855, pl. 111; but as this bears also, what M. Müller (p. 279) explains as the head of Perseus—a common Kilikian but not Lykian type—and is more Kilikian in fabric, M. Müller hence supposes it to be struck by a Kilikian town with whom some Lykian neighbour was then in alliance.

² Aristotle mentioned the constitution of Lykia in his great political collection. (See Phôtios, Bibl. 104, 5 ed. Bekker, and text, p. 214.) The country was, therefore, to some extent federal in the time of Alexander. On the Lykian League see text, pp. 208—217. M. Müller (*Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*. Copenhagen, 1855, p. 274) publishes also coins of various denominations and the usual types of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaïos which bear ΑΤ and are consequently supposed to have been struck in Lykia. The ΑΤ is over a prow like that on the coinage of Phasêlis on a tetradrachm of each King. Μ and Ξ are also associated with the ΑΤ; possibly, M. Müller suggests, for Myra or Massikytos and Xanthos. He also attributes another tetradrachm of Alexander, bearing ΦΑ with a star above each letter, to Phasêlis, and other coins of the same King bearing ΑΙ to Limyra. The whole question of the correctness of these attributions, where we have so little to go by, must depend upon a minute comparison of the fabric of such coins. See however M. Müller's reasons at pp. 274—6 and p. 396 for such classifications.

³ Numis. Hellen. Asiatic Greece, p. 76.

the time of Augustus, probably none are earlier than the deliverance of the Lykians from the Rhodians,¹ B.C. 168. Claudius annihilated Lykian federalism and these coins are all consequently of a period anterior to his reign. The system of a uniform League currency in Lykia was manifestly part of the new Lykian constitution which arose upon the declaration of freedom from Rhodes, and some of the heaviest and best-designed silver coins of the uniform Lykian type may be nearly as old as that event; but the acme of the League's prosperity must have been in the days which succeeded the destruction of Xanthos and procured for Lykia the favour of Augustus; such times would induce a corresponding increase of activity in the Lykian town mints.²

Massikyotos and Kragos certainly, the latter in alliance with Tlôs, and probably several others³ of the principal cities of Lykia, struck

LYKIA.
Its League
coinage
begins
with the
deliver-
ance from
Rhodes,
B.C. 168.

¹ Certain coins of Lykian cities with Rhodian types, not of the League, should no doubt be assigned to a period intermediate between the defeat of Antiochus the Great, B.C. 190, when Lykia was ceded by Rome to Rhodes (B.C. 188), and the Lykian deliverance from the Rhodians, B.C. 168. (See p. 214.) The full-faced Apollo, with an eagle on the cheek, and the rose or pomegranate flower is found on coins of Xanthos, Massikyotos, and Kyaneai. There is also a similar coin of Xanthos and Massikyotos in alliance, and of perhaps Patara and Arendai (Trebenna). There is another of Patara and Xanthos in the British Museum. I fancy I have there discovered a similar coin of Pinara with Myra, which reads III—MY, if we read it from left to right, and another possibly of Patara with Arykanda, APT, in monogram; but the last is rather uncertain. Of course this class of coins has nothing to do with those of the same towns coining under the League, and are as unlike them as possible; nor must we confuse with these the alliance coins struck under the League by some of these very towns. (See articles by M. de Longperier in the *Revue Numismatique* of 1840, p. 405, 1840, p. 451, and 1843, p. 333, who first attributed such pieces.)

² Xanthos has left scarcely any coins. This looks as if the date of the mass of these League coins were after it had fallen.

Still though outwardly at the height of visible and commercial prosperity, the town alliance coins of the Augustan age show a certain degeneracy in the League, recalling the bad days of the Rhodian occupation and allying the same towns under different circumstances.

³ The Lykian Apollônia coins under Augustus. (Cohen, *Med. Imp.* i. p. 104.) Perhaps Telmessos coins with Kragos (Cavedoni, but see below, p. 41 of this Essay, note 3), and there is a coin of Kragos, possibly allied, in the Huber sale mentioned below. Tiberius coins at Phasêlis. (Cohen, i. p. 127.) I should be curious to know whether Phasêlis under Tiberius styles herself "of the Lykians." (See below on Phasêlis.) I have never seen any of the coins quoted in this note.

LYKIA.
Lykian
coins with
the por-
trait of
Augustus,
but with-
out his
name or
titles.

denarii with the head of Augustus but without his name or imperial title, and merely ΑΥ for ΑΥΚΙΩΝ, while on the other side they bore ΜΑ for Massikytos, ΚΡ for Kragos, and the double or single lyre; as on ordinary silver of the League we have the single lyre. But on the denarii of the province of Lykia struck under Claudius the subverter of Lykian liberties we have the full imperial name and style round his portrait. The Augustan denarius of Massikytos as contrasted with that of Claudius, illustrates well the position of federalism in Lykia under Augustus, a Roman dependency that still retained its own laws and internal government.¹ Massikytos calls herself "of the Lykians," but places, out of compliment, the portrait of the Emperor without even his name or title of "Autokratôr," on her coin struck upon the Roman standard.² Claudius destroys Lykian liberty and the title Autokratôr straightway appears.

The purely
federal
currency
of the Ly-
kians ex-
ceptional.

We have, moreover, some few coins of the Lykian League, with purely League types, but which merely read ΑΥΚΙΩΝ,³ without specifying any particular city. Although this is at first sight the most purely federal currency of this League, it must be considered as exceptional, of rare occurrence, and little historical significance; thus some few silver coins of the Achaian League bear merely the

¹ I have seen coins of the province of Lykia with full imperial titles, of Claudius, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, &c.

² See text, p. 210. The Augustan coin of Kragos in the British Museum is precisely analogous. Massikytos no doubt minted her purely League coins on her own standard concurrently with these semi-imperial denarii. No doubt the denarius of Claudius without his titles exists somewhere, struck before the subversion of the League, corresponding to the denarius of Augustus, with the uninscribed portrait.

There are also similar copper coins of Augustus struck at Massikytos. (See Leake, Num. Hell. Asia, p. 81.) The denarius of Lykia under Trajan given by Leake, and supposed by him to have been struck at Patara, was in all probability minted also at Massikytos, from the symbol of an owl which occurs on it, as on one of the denarii of Massikytos with the Augustus head. We may hence presume a continuous imperial coinage at Massikytos in the intermediate period between these two Emperors' reigns.

³ In the British Museum. See an article by Mr. Borrell (Numis. Chron. vol. 10, p. 80) where these coins are first published. Such coins are, with some exceptions, for gravers' slips, imperfect preservation, &c., no doubt among the earliest of the Lykian League, as analogous ones may have been of the Achaian. I have a silver coin merely reading ΑΥ, of the type of M. Longperier's coin of Kragos with ΤΙός (see below note 1, p. 41).

monogram of the Achaïans with no town name or even symbol LYKIA added.¹

It may, therefore, be suggested that the Lykia of Augustus, in virtue of its being to some extent incorporated with the Empire, had, in at least the principal cities, its Roman or imperial mint concurrently with the federal or particular mint of each Lykian coining city.² As the common federal assembly chose for its place of meeting any city which seemed best,³ there was probably no one determinate League mint any more than in Achaia. There is a strong analogy, not of type or fabric, but of inscription and the general organization of their currencies, between these two most perfect of the Leagues of antiquity. The idea of uniform types for the whole League to be reproduced by each individual city whereon its own name should be inscribed after that of its League, is manifestly a copy by Lykia from the Achaian prototype.⁴

Strabo has given us the six principal cities by name of the Lykian League, though he tells us distinctly that the whole number was twenty-three.⁵ These six cities were—Xanthos, Patara, Pinara, Olympos, Myra, and Tlôs: ⁶ all of which, except Pinara, have left League coins; no doubt some specimen of Pinara will be hereafter discovered.⁷

¹ The perfectly anomalous copper coin of the Achaian League given first in Sestini and supposed to bear two magistrates' names with ΑΧΑΙΩΝ but no particular town, must be very doubtful at best.

² M. Müller illustrates this in his observations on the coinage of Alexander. He says that the symbols and monograms on these "engagent à supposer que quelques-unes en aient été frappées par le gouvernement royal, d'autres par la magistrature communale." He goes on to remark that autonomous coins of Sikyôn are found to bear initial fragments of the same names which occur on tetradrachms of Alexander, struck there probably by Macedonian dynasts after his death. ³ See text, p. 209.

⁴ I do not mean that a coin of the Lykian the least resembles one of the Achaian League, but the *theory* of a League currency was evidently the same in both. Lykia is however in one respect original, *its League coinage commemorates no names of magistrates.*

⁵ In this part of my Appendix which relates to Lykia I have drawn largely on an excellent article by Mr. Horace Waddington, "Un voyage en Asie-Mineure au point de vue numismatique—sixième article." *Revue Numismatique*, Paris, vol. xviii. 1853. My other principal authority has been the able essay on Lykian Numismatics by M. Koner in the *Beiträge zur älteren Münzkunde*. Berlin, 1851.

⁶ See the passage of Strabo (xiv. 3) translated in the text, p. 209.

⁷ There are coins of Pinara not of the League. See the *Beiträge* p. 119, and in the British Museum.

Several cities must have had an imperial mint as well as a federal one.

Strabo only names the six principal towns.

LYKIA.

In addition to these six more important cities, authenticated League coins exist of thirteen other towns, which but for numismatic evidence we should never know for certain had belonged to the League.

Coins
supply
fourteen
more
names of
League
cities.

These are Antiphellos, Aperlai, Apóllonia, Arykanda, Kragos, Kyaneai, Limyra, Massikytos, Phasélis, Phellos, Podalia, Rhodia or Rhodiapolis, Trebenna.

Telmessos may really be reckoned as increasing our list to fourteen though its name only appears on coins in alliance with Kragos ; of this more presently.

We have thus supplied twenty out of twenty-three city names ; future researches will no doubt fill in the remainder.^{1 2}

¹ See however the note at the end of this chapter.

² The common Lykian League silver type is the head of Apollo with elaborate curls, and ΑΥ, ΑΥΚΙΩΝ or other abbreviation, coupled with the lyre in an incuse square, and the two initial letters of the town, as ΠΑ Patara, ΞΑ Xanthos, on the other side. Sometimes the ΑΥΚΙΩΝ at full length or abbreviated occupies the incuse square above the lyre ; different small symbols are sometimes added. These are small silver coins ; the earliest with a maximum weight of 43 grs., but the great mass weigh about 29 grs. Perhaps they are Æginetan hemidrachms following the Rhodian small silver monetary denominations. These last have an average weight of about 40 grs., which is about the maximum weight of the Achaian League silver. Mr. Poole suggests that the earlier Lykian standard was Phœnician. (Numismatics, Encyc. Brit. Lycia.) The copper types are various ; the heads of Artemis, or Apollo, the stag, or the bow and quiver crossed in the incuse square, are the commonest. There is as small difficulty in recognising a Lykian silver League coin as an Achaian League one by its type alone. The important historical fact derivable from these type descriptions is, that the superior authority of the League is recognised in the formula ΑΥΚΙΩΝ ΚΡΑΤ(ΩΝ), like ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ.

There is also a strong presumption in favour of several of the copper types being Lykian League types, even when we cannot decipher the confirmatory ΑΥ ; especially that of the bow and quiver crossed in the incuse square. Still Bubón has left coins of nearly this type, but without the incuse square, yet probably this was not one of the 23 cities.

Mr. Waddington says that "Bubon ne fit partie de la ligue que dans les derniers temps ; aussi, il en existe des monnaies au type lycien, sans le carré creux." He goes on to say that it is very doubtful whether Bubón could have been comprised in the twenty-three League towns of Artemi-dóros, as his work seems from a passage in Marcian of Hérakleia to have been completed about 650, A.U.C. (103, B.C.) or twenty years before Murena united Bubón to Lykia. To this period of their Lykian incorporation would Mr. Waddington refer the coins of Bubón. Kibyra has also left coins (on the interesting tetrapolis of Kibyra, see text, p. 211, note). There are coins of Balboursa of Caligula (ΓΑΙΟΥΣ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ) with nothing

The alliance coins of the Lykian League are as follows:—Kragos LYKIA.
appears in alliance with Tlôs,¹ Xanthos,² Telmessos,³ and Myra Lykian cities coin-
ing in al-
liance under its
League.
respectively on four separate coins.

The appearance of Telmessos in alliance with Kragos raises the question whether the former, like its ally of whom we have separate League coins, is to be admitted among the Lykian cities. Although no coin is at present known of Telmessos coining separately, yet the alliance coin is both in inscription and fabric so undoubtedly struck under League authority and of a common type with the other

about them to connect these with the Lykian League coinage. (Beiträge, p. 112, and Leake, Num. Hell. Sup. p. 29.) General Fox publishes (Cat. part 2, pl. 19) an autonomous coin of Balboursa reading at full.

¹ M. de Longperier has published the only League alliance coin in silver of which I have ever heard. It is of Tlôs and Kragos in alliance. The type is not quite the usual one, though it occurs in other instances, and the ΔT for $\Delta T K I Q N$ is wanting, but M. Koner quotes this coin, with a similar specimen from the "Arch. Zeitung" where the ΔT occurs. (See Revue Numismatique, 1843, p. 434, and the Beiträge, p. 120.) I have a new copper coin of these towns in alliance, with the ΔT , of the stag and Artemis head type.

² In the British Museum. The Kragos and Myra coin is engraved in the Encyc. Roret. Num. Anc. pl. 8, 277, and in the Revue Num. 1843.

³ All these town alliances converge at Kragos. I suspect we are still a good deal in the dark about their real original history. Kragos and Massikytos have left, of Lykian towns, by far the most federal coins; but Massikytos is never once allied at this period. Are we to suppose that Kragos, in the last days of the League, was the centre of the Anti-Roman party, and Massikytos the stronghold of Roman influence? M. Koner publishes at p. 115 of the "Beiträge" from Cavedoni a copper coin of Kragos and Telmessos in alliance, bearing the head of Augustus on one side, $KP TEA$ and a lyre in a laurel wreath on the other. (Cavedoni, Observ. sur les Mon. de la Lycie, p. 38.) This is probably the precisely similar coin which Mr. Waddington publishes and reads $KP TA$ (at p. 93 of his Essay). That is Kragos and Tlôs in alliance. I hardly think both coins can exist, and I prefer the able guidance of Mr. Waddington. This piece is in either case important as dating such town alliances to the reign of Augustus. Mr. Waddington has with justice I believe referred these town alliances to the Augustan age, and traces in them the germ of those internal discords which led afterwards to the suppression of Lykian autonomy under Claudius. (On the Lykian dissensions, see text, p. 216.) I find also in the Huber Sale Catalogue, p. 59, a denarius with the head of Augustus and ΔT , and the two lyres with K and TP in monogram; it is there ascribed to Kragos. It is dangerous to attempt to attribute any coin from a mere catalogue description, but one is tempted to suggest an alliance between Kragos and Trebenna. This, of course, is the merest guess, and assumes the correctness of the reading.

LYKIA. Lykian towns, that I readily follow the previous authorities¹ in counting Telmessos as one of the twenty-three cities of the Lykian League.²

Phasélis at some time in the League. I have increased Mr. Waddington's and M. Koner's list of League towns by venturing to add Phasélis to the number. I have done so on the authority of a silver coin in the British Museum of the unmistakable silver Lykian League type, reading ΦΑΣΗΛΙ above the lyre in the usual incuse square, with two symbols, a torch and hand on either side the lyre. It is fair to add that I cannot on this coin discover the ΑΥ for ΑΥΚΙΩΝ on either side the Apollo's head, but as a silver League coin of Olympos leaves this out side by side with an identical specimen which bears the ΑΥ, I think the identity of the normal silver type and even symbols is sufficient to warrant my adding Phasélis to the Lykian League. This town had, in times anterior to the League, a distinct and peculiar monetary system of its own.³

¹ That is Col. Leake, Mr. Waddington, and M. Koner. Col. Leake says "it was doubtless one of the twenty-three cities of the Lykian confederacy." See Note, Suppl. Num. Hell. Asia, p. 101. Mr. Waddington discovered Lykian inscriptions in the ruins of Telmessos.

² Of Telmessos Strabo says (xiv. 3) that it is *πολίχνη Λυκίων*. He adds, *"ἔλαβε δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων Εὐμένης ἐν τῷ Ἀντιοχικῷ πολέμῳ καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀπέλαβον πάλιν οἱ Λύκιοι*. This must mean that when the kingdom of Pergamos ended, circa B.C. 133, Telmessos was added to the League. Here then is a case of annexation *before* the time of Artemidórus.

³ Col. Leake (Num. Hell. Phasélis) publishes a similar silver coin also without ΑΥ, differing from the above in certain symbols only. The torch and hand of the British Museum coin are frequently repeated on other town coins with the ΑΥ. I also possess a precisely similar coin of Phasélis, but of ruder fabric.

An editor's note at p. 119 of the *Beiträge* says that the League types on the coins of Phasélis given by Mionnet, one of which is in the collection at Berlin "lassen schliessen, dass diese Stadt (Phasélis) eine Zeitlang dem Lycischen Bunde angehört hat; . . . aber zu Strabos Zeit war sie ausgetreten."

Of Phasélis Strabo (xiv. 3, sec. 9) says, *"Ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ αὕτη ἡ πόλις Λυκική, τοῦ δὲ κοινοῦ τῶν Λυκίων οὐ μετέχει, καθ' αὐτὴν δὲ συνέστηκεν*. He gives no explanation of this isolation, which is well illustrated by the isolated system of the civic coinage of Phasélis as contrasted with that of other Lykian towns. M. Koner thinks Phasélis may have come into the League in late times. Mr. Waddington says, "Que Phasélis, tout en ayant un gouvernement et un système monétaire à elle propre, a cependant frappé des médailles au type de la ligue lycienne, et peut en avoir fait partie dans

Of course it will not do to assume that the cities which composed the Lykian League in the time of Strabo were in every name identical with those of the League of Artemidôros, if there is a tittle of evidence the other way. Otherwise the presumption would rather be in favour of the same extent at both times. The Greek Leagues of course fluctuated to and fro, but that was because they were wholly independent, liable to conquer and be conquered. But one cannot fancy anything added to or taken from Lykia between Artemidôros and Strabo, and again between Strabo and the dissolution of the League under Claudius, without Roman authority.

Did its
League
fluctuate?

Then comes the question whether Phasêlis at the time of Strabo had seceded from the League into the peculiar isolation which he mentions, or, what is more probable, whether this town did not subsequently attach herself to the other Lykian League cities?

Again, could Xanthos after its overthrow by Brutus have kept its place as one of the six great cities? This would depend on a point of Lykian law which we do not know. In England it clearly would till specially altered, just as Old Sarum kept its two members. In America it as clearly would not, the representation being adjusted to the population at each census. Nor have we any means of knowing whether the three classes of cities were fixed, or whether there was any way, as in America, of rising or falling from one to another.

Did Xan-
thos keep
its place
after its
overthrow?

Some such hypothesis might explain the subsequent accession of Phasêlis even without special Roman authority, but its isolation in the passage of Strabo seems perfectly voluntary.

The very few League coins which Xanthos has left seems somewhat to favour the supposition of its having lost its place in the League, after the overthrow by Brutus. Still Pinara, a first-class

les derniers temps." I presume Mr. Waddington means analogous silver pieces of Phasêlis in speaking of its coins on the Lykian League type. There is greater divergency in the League copper, but I should fancy the fact of a town using the one silver League type conclusive. The peculiar monetary system of Phasêlis before its League incorporation, reminds us of other times and countries; the copper reads ΦA , ΦB , $\Phi \Gamma$ — ΦE . This is like the numbering of the issues on the small copper currency of Rome. Mr. Waddington publishes a tetradrachm of Phasêlis with a magistrate's name APKEΣIAAOΣ . The unfederal coins of Kyaneai also record magistrates' names at full in some instances, as $\Phi \text{APOΣ}$ (in the British Museum), KTHPOΣ (Beiträge, p. 115).

LYKIA. Lykian town, has left us absolutely no League coinage as yet discovered.

I am also able to add Apollônia¹ to Mr. Waddington's list of the League.

Kadyanda. Araxa has a good chance of having authenticated coins assigned to
Kandyba. it.² Mr. Waddington suggests, moreover, Kadyanda³ and Kandyba, as towns whose League coins may some day be discovered.

THE ACHAIAN LEAGUE.

THE
ACHAIAN
LEAGUE.

We learn from Polybios that the effect of the Achaian League was to introduce an identity of laws, weights, measures, and coinage⁴

¹ In the collection of E. Wigan, Esq., a small copper coin of an undoubted League type, with the identical stiff-curved silver Apollo head, and the Λ of the AT visible on one side of the neck, reading ΑΠΟ distinctly, with the bow and quiver crossed in the incuse square. Mr. Waddington has, with justice I believe, corrected M. Koner's attribution of a League type reading ΑΠ to this town in favour of Aperlai. Mr. Waddington quotes from Sestini (Revue, p. 184) a League coin of Apollônia without the incuse square but with a full-faced Apollo. Sestini and Mionnet had published a nearly similar coin to Mr. Wigan's; these it is interesting to be able to confirm, though Sestini and Mionnet are not to be trusted on such points without additional evidence. Col. Leake (Suppl. Num. Hellen. p. 80), as well as Mr. Waddington, has published a League coin of Phellos. Mionnet's coin of Korydalla (iii. p. 433), wisely doubted by Mr. Waddington, I have discovered to be only a misread specimen of a not uncommon class of coins usually given to Lacedæmon. This reads ΛΑ above and not ΑΤ. The other letters vary; I have one with ΚΟ, another with ΤΗ. These are only magistrates' names. The rest of the description, even to the square Θ in the field, minutely corresponds.

² Col. Leake evidently believed in some coin attributed to Araxa, which he publishes in a list of Lykian cities coining under the Leagues. Perhaps he means the doubtful specimen in the French collection.

³ Mr. Borrell has published (Num. Chron. vol. 10, p. 89) an autonomous but not a League coin of Kadyanda. See also Huber's Cat. p. 49, for another specimen.

⁴ "ὥστε μὴ μόνον συμμαχικὴν καὶ φιλικὴν κοινωνίαν γεγονέναι πραγμάτων περὶ αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καὶ σταθμοῖς, καὶ μέτροις, καὶ νομίσμασι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἄρχουσι, βουλευταῖς, δικασταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Polyb. ii. 37. The uniform League copper and silver type probably followed and was provided for in the federal constitution enacted about 274 B.C. See text, p. 254. The tetrobola or hemidrachms of Sparta and Messênê are doubtless contemporaneous with the League silver type, and probably cease

throughout the whole Peloponnese. This passage, and the general geographical extent of the League, will be curiously illustrated by the considerable list of towns and districts of which authenticated coins have descended to us; all of these were struck under the authority, and during the continuance of the Achaian League. One silver type and one copper type was used in common by all the members of the confederation. The formula adopted on the copper currency—much more historically important than the silver, since it inscribes the particular coining city's name in full—consists in giving us the name of the Achaians collectively, immediately followed by the addition of the town itself, striking in each case under League authority; thus—*AXAIΩN KOPINΘIΩN*—*AXAIΩN ΠATAIΩN*.¹

THE
ACHAIA
LEAGUE.
Its effect in
intro-
ducing one
uniform
silver and
copper
type
through-
out Pelop-
onnēsos.

The single magistrate's name occurring upon the copper at full length, on the silver in part must rather represent in each case the town's head local magistrate than the stratēgos or president for the year of the whole Achaian League. I am inclined to this opinion from never having found at full length any name such as Aratos, Philopoimēn, Lydiades; and considering the number of times these were each stratēgos, such a non-occurrence would be hard to explain on any other supposition.² Neither have I found in any

Only mu-
nicipal
magi-
strates'
names
found on
the coin-
age.

when Sparta and Messenē were incorporated into the League and obliged to strike with League types.

¹ The one copper type bears the full-length Zeus Homagyrus holding a victory, with a magistrate's name nearly always in full on one side; Dēmētēr Panachaia seated, the name of the Achaians, and that of the coining city on the other. Thus Pausanias (vii. 24) says, 'Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῶ 'Ομαγυρίῳ Διὶ Παναχαϊᾷ ἐστὶ Δῆμιτρος. The silver is likewise of one denomination, the Attic tetrobolon, or equal to two-thirds of a light Attic drachm, or what would be much the same in weight, the Æginetan hemidrachm (see Böckh's *Metrolologische Untersuchungen*, &c. Berlin, 1838, p. 98, and Mr. Poole, "Numismatics," *Encyc. Brit.* p. 371). It bears the head of Zeus the assembler of men, the federal god whose altar was at Aigion, generally without further inscription on that side. The other side bears the large monogram of the Achaians with generally the two initial letters of the coining city added much smaller, as *ΣΙ* for the Sikyonians, *FA* for *FAAEIΩN* (the Eleans preserving the digamma even after 188 B.C.). Sometimes there is only the city symbol given, as a dove for Sikyon, a wolf's head for Argos. Portions of a magistrate's name are generally added, seldom the whole, except on League silver of Aigion or Elis.

Some towns are only known through their League coins, but of course the majority coined both before and after League times though with types perfectly distinct from their currencies of that epoch.

² I have found on silver League coins of Dyme, Patrai, Aigeira, and Elis,

THE
ACHAÏAN
LEAGUE.

instance the name of any other recorded Achaian general. Mionnet publishes (Med. Rom. p. 158) a League hemidrachm of

the initials AP and AT; a coin of Dyme reads both AP and AT. This however proves too much, for had these initials anything to do with Aratos and Lydiades, the two names would never occur on the same coin. Cousinery (Essai sur les Monnaies d'argent de la Ligue achéenne, Paris, 1825) discovers both the name of Aratos (AP) and Euryleôn (ET) on the coins of Sikyôn which do not belong to the League. Mr. Burgon interpreted a monogram on the League coin of Gortys into the name of Aratos; but the signification here is quite as uncertain as on our other specimens. Plenty of other names begin with AP and AT besides the two notable ones we require; for instance there is Lysippos, a general of the League in the time of Philopoi mén (Plut. Philop. 12). AP is common on League silver of Patrai where it occurs both with and without ΠΑ. M. Cousinery would read Aroë, which is doubtless found on this town's coins under the Empire with Patrai. The AP in monogram on Cousinery's coin of Aigion, which he there interprets as Aratos, is probably only the ΑΠΙCΤΟΔΑΜΟC, a local magistrate, of the next coin he gives of the same town, abbreviated. Supposing the uniform League coinage to have commenced so early as from the accession of Sikyôn to the League, as Aratos continued for the next five years head of its local government (B.C. 251—245) (see text, p. 368), we should have the best chance of finding his name on Sikyônian copper coins of the League. We have also a chance on the Argeian coins, as he was once elected out of compliment its head local magistrate.

The interpretation however of the letters and monograms of the League silver, as distinguished from the copper, is so slippery a task, that we cannot insist much on evidence hence derived; as we are liable, among other elements of confusion, to mistake the city initials for a magistrate's name and *vice versa*; thus one of these coins reads FA, AN, where the former may mean Eleians (ΦΑΛΕΙΩΝ) the latter Antigoneia, and there is no sort of city symbol to help us between the two on this specimen; all notion of an alliance between these would be utterly out of place in the Achaian, whatever it might be in the Augustan times of the Lykian League. With these reservations, some of the League silver appear to bear two magistrates' names in a few instances; and in these, could we establish our fact with any certainty, one might be the federal, one the municipal magistrate. Sestini makes them the local eponymous magistrate, his father, and at times his grandfather (p. 69), for Sestini insists on some League coins bearing three names. Certainly the silver of Elis bear one name at full length with two more monograms beside the city name, at times in monogram also, but the number of distinct persons named must be extremely doubtful at best; although it is common enough in Greek numismatics to find the magistrate's father and occasionally his father again. Still the League silver is so perfectly anomalous as at present classed, giving us, sometimes a symbol, the two first letters of the town, one or two magistrates' names, perhaps a double name of a town like Aroë or Patrai, or, again, the monogram of Patrai on a Corinthian League piece with the Koph (in my collection); and these again singly, or in combination—that it cannot be rashly decided when to read a town, and when a magistrate's

Elis which bears the name NIKIOY. This cannot be the insignificant Nikias who was federal general B.C. 209—8 (Liv. xxviii. 8), THE
ACHAÏAN
LEAGUE.

name in many of these abbreviations or monograms. Cousinery publishes a silver and a small brass coin, of the type usually silver, in his first plate. These he reasonably classes to the League before the annexation of Sikyôn on account of their bearing simply the Achaian monogram without symbol or inscription. Their fabric is also very different from the usual silver coins of the League; although these last differ again widely in fabric among themselves. There are several similar specimens in the British Museum. See also the hemidrachm at p. 34 of this essay, reading AXAÏON, which must have been struck about this period, but is classed, from analogy of fabric, with the Peloponnésian didrachmic series.

Cousinery (p. 24) instances towns of the second order which only coined copper under the League, such as Asea, Asiné, Eua, Pallanteon. He would thence infer that such were "subordonnées à une métropole," from whence they received the silver they required. I do not think that under the Achaian League any such distinction can be maintained. It is true that of many League towns we have only copper coins, but then the attribution of the League silver is generally so uncertain, unless we get a perfectly ascertained symbol to guide us as in some few cases like Argos, Megara, Sikyôn, that we cannot be sure that there was no silver League coinage of the four towns mentioned above, because we cannot distinguish it from the mass of Achaian silver. In fact a silver coin reading ΠΑΑ and given by Cousinery to Pellêné, is referred by Col. Leake with much more probability to the last of these very towns Pallanteon. It is this attempted distinction between head and subordinate towns under the League which leads Sestini into some strange theories respecting the appearance of the mint-master's name at full length on the League copper (see pp. 68, 69).

Still on the other hand there are also League towns and districts that we know only by their silver coins, but I believe copper was struck in each though the coins have not yet come to hand. These are 6 out of our list of 41, Aigina—Dyme—Patrai—Lacedæmon—Troizên and Elis. Aigion is the only League town which inscribes its full name on its silver currency; and with Elis, Aigion is the only town which inscribes the full magisterial name on coins of the same metal; though Elis never gives its own name in full. Still the FA (ΑΕΙΩΝ) of Elis, and the bonnets of the Dioskouroi of Lacedæmon attribute their League silver with adequate certainty. Hence the fact of Aigina, Dymé, Patrai, or, in some extent, Troizên having left any *known* coins of the League, though we may be sure they did coin, is not nearly so certain, as that the other towns in our list have, of which copper coins reading the city name in full remain. When we have established the existence of a copper coin of any city it is not very important for our present purpose to inquire into the often interesting numismatic puzzle of finding a corresponding League coin in silver.

Cousinery has endeavoured with a certain ingenuity to set apart a class of Corinthian drachms with a pegasus, and a female head or that of Apollo, as struck by Corinth and certain Peloponnésian towns authorized by Corinth to imitate her coinage for commercial purposes about the time of the Achaian League, and supposed by him to have had a concurrent circulation

THE
ACHAÏAN
LEAGUE.

Reasons
against the
occurrence
of the
name of
the Federal
Stratê-
gos.

Coins of
Philopoi-
mên's
townships.

as Elis was only annexed to the League some twenty years afterwards. The name is, moreover, not an uncommon one. Only in a very few cases, such as a Chaireas of Corinth, and a Chaireas of Messênê, a Phaênos of both Argos and Sikyôn,—does the same name occur on League coins of different towns; which would surely be the case frequently were the federal magistrate of the whole League named.

The existence of League coins of Alipheira, Asea, Dipaia, Gortys, Pallanteon, and Theisoa, illustrates the policy of Philopimên about B.C. 194, in erecting separate small states out of the townships of Megalopolis. The coin of Pagai, may have been struck at the second incorporation of Megara, B.C. 208. The policy of encouraging and fostering this town in opposition to the neighbouring power of Megara, was dictated earlier by the same motives. The port of Megara and the second town in the district would naturally suggest itself as a convenient counterpoise to the capital to the mind of Philopimên.

Coins of
Kleônai
under the
League.

The earlier acquisition of Kleônai by Aratos, B.C. 399, which also has left League coins, was part of the same policy directed against the then non-Achaian Argos.¹

The League coin of Korônê as a separate canton is also important, as there is no doubt about its geographical position to the south of Messênê. This must have already separated from Messênê at the death of Philopimên, or have been subsequently enfranchised by Lykortas. We have additional evidence of its belong-

with the regular League types. Cousinery has moreover a strange theory that King Philip, warring against Ætolia, made the League towns most attached to the Corinthian interest strike for him Corinthian types which would circulate in Northern Greece instead of Achaian ones. Such a theory is entirely gratuitous and improbable. Cousinery's only fact seems to be a presumed rarity of Corinthian League coins of the regular types, and a find of coins in the neighbourhood of Epeiros. But Argos and Sikyôn, at least in their symbol-bearing coins of the League, are nearly as seldom found; and the League copper of Corinth in the British Museum are more in number than that of any other League town. Besides, one's credulity is much taxed to believe in Corinthian types attributed on the authority of two letters or a monogram to the inland Tegea and strangest of all to Federal Arkadia (see pt. II, at p. 17). Sestini also finds the name of Aratos (AP) on Corinthian didrachms of the usual colonial type; whose fabric, to omit other difficulties, must class them long before his time. See Sestini, pp. 71—86.

¹ See text, p. 400.

ing to the Achaian League in the name of its harbour, "the port of the Achaians."¹ On his march to relieve Korônê Philopoimên was taken prisoner.² THE
ACHAIAN
LEAGUE.

The coin of Mantinea, under its name of Antigoneia, is important, as giving us a date subsequent to 222 B.C., the year of its name being changed in honour of Antigonos Dôsôn. Antigo-
neia.

There exists a coin moreover of Eliphasia or Elisphasia, one of the townships of Mantinea (See Polyb. xi. 11),³ also separated by Philopoimên as a check upon its uncertain and turbulent mother city. This last instance shows the division of large States to have been pursued systematically.

Colonel Leake would attribute a League copper coin, reading KOPTYNIQN AXAIQN⁴ and belonging to Gortys in Arkadia, to Gortyna in Crete. He argues from the insignificance of the Arkadian village, as contrasted with the zeal shown by the Cretan Gortynians in the cause of the League; he instances how on one occasion the latter people invited Philopoimên to command their army, and how subsequently 500 of these joined Flamininus on the League side against Philip. Federal
coin of
Gortys.

The question however is, have we any evidence to show that these Cretan Gortynians were ever anything more than *Allies*? To have struck this coin they must have been not merely zealous supporters, but a regularly confederated city. With regard to the insignificance of the Arkadian village, it could not have been of greater Not the
Cretan
Gortyna

¹ Paus. iv. 34. Cf. Geog. Dict. Corone. Pausanias professes himself unable to account for the name.

² Livy (xxxix. 49) says, "Philopoemen prætor eorum capitur ad præoccupandam *Coronen* profectus," while Plutarch (Phil. 17), *Καὶ κώμην τὴν καλουμένην Κολωνίδα προσηγέληθ' (Δεινοκράτης) μέλλων καταλαμβάνειν*. Pausanias distinguishes between the two, but puts them not far apart, *τῇ Κορωναίων δὲ πόλει ἐστὶν ὁμοῖος Κολωνίδες* (iv. 34). Again Ptolemy talks about *Κολώνη* (iii. 15, s. 7, cf. Geog. Dict.). The imperial-colonial coins read ΚΟΛΩΝΙΕΩΝ, &c. The autonomous coins inscribed ΚΟΛΩΝΑΙΩΝ belong, according to Mr. Borrell, to a Kolônê in the Troad (Num. Chron. vi. 193. Cf. Müller. Alex. Gr. p. 237). Leake had classed these to the Messénian Kolônê.

³ *τῇ τῶν Ἐλισφασίων χώρῃ*. This is, I fancy, the only reference in the authorities of the period for this township. The coin is, consequently, highly important.

⁴ Kortys and Gortys, as Gnossos and Cnossos. See Leake, Supplement to Numis. Hellen. sub Gortyna Cretæ passim. A similar specimen of Baron Prokesch-Osten's reads ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ.

THE
ACHAÏAN
LEAGUE.

Reasons
for and
against
the Cretan
Gortyna.

insignificance than Alipheira, of which we have coins, and other places which became independent by the policy of Philopimên and Lykortas.¹ There is another point at first sight rather in Colonel Leake's favour, which, however, he does not mention, namely, the great resemblance which exists between the types of certain Cretan and Peloponnésian cities as between coins of Stymphalos and the Cretan Chersonêsos especially. It is, moreover, remarkable that a tetradrachm of Gortyna should differ from a latter tetradrachm of Athens only in inscribing a different name and symbol.² Still, the inferences of history are so strongly against the Cretan theory, and the existence of League coins of other small Arkadian townships is so entirely corroborative of the Arkadian attribution, that I have no doubt that a coin to all appearances a coin of the Achaian League was struck by a League city, Gortys in Arkadia, within the usual limits of League influence; nor do I see any necessity for going as far as Crete to produce an isolated city from that island in all respects confederated equally with Aigion or Megalopolis.

Doubtful
coin of
Keryneia.

Sestini and after him Mionnet, have published a League coin of Keryneia, the city of Markos, described as reading AXAÏON KAPINOÏON. I am unaware whether there be any except numismatic

¹ Gortys was of sufficient importance to be taken by Euripidas the general of the Eleians in the social war, B.C. 219. The mere fact of Arkadia, a district of small towns, supplying 18 out of 39 ascertained cities in my list of coining towns, is a sufficient answer to Col. Leake's objection on the score of the insignificance of the Arkadian Gortys.

With regard to Philopimên, he had already served in Crete and acquired reputation in the wars of Cnossos and Lyttos. Throughout Polybios there is frequent mention of Cretan contingents serving on every side of the question in Greek politics (see p. 533). Thus we find Polyrrhênians in the army of Philip (Polyb. iv. 61), and Cretans in the troops of Sparta (Polyb. iv. 80). There are many other instances. We might as reasonably expect Achaian League coins of Athens as of Gortyna. (On Philopimên in Crete, see text, p. 505.)

² These facts were I believe first noticed by Mr. Burgon, see also Mr. Poole's article on Numismatics in the *Encycl. Britan.* Mr. Poole (*Numis. Chron. New Series*, No. 3, p. 173) also notices "that Cnossus Cydonia Gortyna Hierapytna Polyrrhenium and Priansus" copy the types of late Athenian tetradrachms on certain of their coins. M. Poole has given a good explanation in supposing that these Cretan towns copied the Athenian tetradrachm on account of its widely-spread commercial circulation. He has also kindly informed me, that in the cities of Tarentum and Velia strong commercial relations with Athens may be traced in their issue of drachms with modified Athenian types.

authority for this reading of the city's name. Sestini quotes another example reading KAPINAION. This comes more nearly to the received orthography, which seems to have varied much in different authorities.¹ I have never personally inspected a specimen of this coin, which I regard as far from certain.

THE
ACHAIA
LEAGUE.

On looking at the subjoined list² of towns coining under the League, we are able fully to understand the vitality and importance of such a confederation, wherein states like Lacedæmon, Corinth, or Elis, were content to merge their political individuality into mere membership of a League, on a par with Pagai and Alipheira, and were satisfied to inscribe AXAION before their own name on the public coinage.

Its extent
well illus-
trated by
its coin-
age.

The obscure history of the Eleuthero-lakonic townships is not much cleared up by the coinage of the Achaian League. Pausanias tells us eighteen out of the twenty-four names, and of those which he specifies in no single instance has an Achaian League coin come down to us.³ We should hardly expect at first sight each of the twenty-four

The Eleu-
thero-lakō-
nic town-
ships.

¹ *Κερίνια Κεραυνία*—perhaps *Κεκύρινα* (Paus. vii. 6). On Markos, see text, p. 248. Perhaps this is a misread League coin of Corinth—KAPINOION for KOPINOION. The magistrate's name, Hermokratês, is actually found on Corinthian League copper, and the theta in KOPINOION on the British Museum League coins of Corinth looks just like a large omicron, while the omicron which follows the kappa is a mere dot.

² See p. 53 of this Essay. It is hardly necessary to warn the reader that some coins like those bearing AXAION ETMENEON of the Phrygian Eumeneia have neither in type or otherwise any connection with the Achaian League. IONON, ΘΡΑΚΩΝ, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, are thus found on coins of Asiatic cities, and "record probably the union of some colonists from European Greece." (Leake, *Sup. Num. Hell.* p. 52.) A coin reading ΠΕΤΜΑΤΙΩΝ with something like the Achaian monogram does not belong to the League.

³ But Gythion, Las, Asôpos, and Boiai have left imperial-colonial coins of the Severus period. Col. Leake (*Num. Hell.* Cyparissia) publishes an autonomous coin of Kyparissia with the symbolical head and name ΡΩΜΑ on one side; a standing Artemis, Κ... ΑΛΚΕΤΙ and ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣΣΙΑ on the other. This, he suggests, may be a coin of Asôpos after all. Cyparissia would then merely be an epithet of the Artemis, as it was of the Athênê in the Acropolis of Asôpos mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 22, Cf Leake "Cyparissia"). Certainly the two towns were close to each other, and the imperial coins of Kyparissos read ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣ(ΙΕΩΝ not ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣΣΙΑ an unusual numismatic termination for a city name. I have inspected, through the kindness of Mrs. Leake, and would read, this coin somewhat differently, namely ΚΟΙ(ΝΟΝ) ΛΑΚΕ(ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ), ΤΙ(ΜΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ),

THE
ACHAÏAN
LEAGUE.

townships to coin as an independent canton, since such a number added at once to the League would be serious. It would seem more reasonable to infer that some system, like that of contributory boroughs, regulated their connection with the Achaian League, rather than that each petty township should have come in for a distinct vote. Still the analogy of the coining townships of Megalopolis makes rather for the last supposition. Now six of these Eleuthero-lakônîc names Pausanias does not tell us, because the towns had been reannexed by Sparta in his time. We have however two names in our list worthy of consideration as possibly supplying two of the missing names—Asinê, and Eua.

Doubt between the three Asinês.

The Messénian Asinê, if we attribute our League coin to this town rather than the Argeian 'Asinê, was only five miles distant from Korônê, which town we know coined under the League. Moreover the Argeian town was in ruins in the time of Pausanias.¹ But then we have a third Lakonian Asinê of Polybios near Gythion,² which seems to have been close to or the same as Las, the Eleuthero-lakônîc township; and it seems no easy matter to decide whether our League coin belongs to the Argeian, Messénian, or Lakônian town.³

ΚΥΤΙΑΠΙCΙΑ. The last word is still, I consider, merely an epithet of the Artemis. Timaristos, a magistrate, occurs very commonly in the same abbreviated form, and once is named at full length, on coins of Sparta of about the reign of Augustus. If this coin was Eleuthero-lakônîc, the formula would rather be ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΛΑΚΩΝΩΝ than what we have. Possibly, however, these towns arrogated to themselves an equal right with the Spartans to be called *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*. If so, we should have a distinct coin of the Eleuthero-lakônîc League as set up by Augustus. But I much doubt whether this is even a coin of Asôpos, and may not be only one of Sparta after all. ΣΠΑΡΤΗ, an allegorical head like the ΠΩΜΑ, occurs on the coinage of this last, and as we hear there of temples both of an Artemis Orthia and Limnaia, so there may have been a Kyparissian Artemis.

¹ Paus. ii. 36. *Τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἔστιν Ἀργείων ἢ ποτὲ Ἀσίνη καλούμενη, καὶ Ἀσίνης ἔστιν ἐρείπια ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ.* Cf. Leake, Num. Hell. Asine.

² V. 19. Dr. Smith (Geog. Dict. Asine) doubts the existence of a Lakonian town of this name, and suggests a confusion in Polybios between Mount Asia and Asine, since Pausanias (iii. 24) speaks of the same event—a repulse of King Philip—happening at Las on Mount Asia. It seems strange however to trust Pausanias before Polybios on a matter of history.

³ Of this Asinê—be it Lakônian, Messénian, or Argeian—there are imperial-colonial coins of Septimius Severus, Plautilla and Domna, reading ΑΣΙΝΑΙΩΝ. There is an autonomous coin of one of the three Asinês in Huber's Sale Catalogue, p. 39, reading ΑΣΕΝΑΟΝ, with the square sigma.

The coin of Eua must, I fancy, probably belong to the Eua of the Thyreatis mentioned by Pausanias with Athênê and Nêris, and as the largest of the three.¹ It is true we have Mount Eua close over the city of Messênê, the southern summit opposite to Ithômê, but if we attributed the coin to this site, we should have to create a town there. Assuming this to be the village in the Thyreatis, it may have been Eleuthero-lakônica, but as I have never seen its coin, besides its having no historical corroboration as a member of the League, we must accept such a coin with caution.

The passage of Livy which treats of the first separation of the maritime Lakônian towns by Flaminius, B.C. 195, certainly looks more like mere protection by, than incorporation with the Achaian League.² Still when we afterwards read of Diaios both garrisoning and attaching to the League the towns which afterwards became the Eleuthero-lakônica cities³—identical in all probability with the maritime Lakonian towns of Livy—it seems unreasonable to doubt that these were admitted at some period to the League on the same terms and as part of the same policy, which dictated Philopoimên's separation of the Megalopolitan townships, and, possibly, Pagai. Therefore it is not too much to expect that League coins of some, possibly of all, these towns must hereafter comê to light. Surely their important position as a check upon hostile Sparta would ensure them as good terms of incorporation as the townships of Megalopolis were able to obtain.^{4 5}

On what terms admitted to the League.

¹ ii. 28.

² Cf. p. 622, and Liv. xxxv. 13. Achæis omnium maritimorum Laconum tuendorum a T. Quinctio cura mandata erat.

³ Cf. p. 692, and Paus. vii. 13. τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Σπάρτης πολιέματα ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπηγάγετο εὐνοίαν, ἐσήγαγε δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ φρουράς, ὀρμητήρια ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην Ἀχαιοῖς εἶναι. It is suggested at p. 692, that Iasos, mentioned lower by Pausanias as Ἀχαιῶν ὑπήκοον, was one of the six whose names are not given. This statement of subjection to the League is surely considerably modified by the previous ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπηγάγετο εὐνοίαν. See also the remarks at pp. 622 and 692, from whence the arguments above are derived.

⁴ In B.C. 146, Mummius puts these Eleuthero-lakônica cities back again under Sparta; Augustus separated them again, seemingly setting them up as a sort of distinct confederacy, and not adding them to the Achaian League. Between that time and when Pausanias wrote, Sparta had recovered six of these cities.

⁵ I insert at the end of this notice of the coinage of the Peloponnêsos

THE
ACHAÏAN
LEAGUE.

under the Achaian League, some account of an interesting small copper coin, of which M. Feuardent has kindly sent me the impression, bearing the helmeted head of Pallas; and on the other side the prow of a galley with BA, ANT in monogram, and the monogram of Patrai (ΠΑΤΡ) with a branch. This he suggests in his catalogue was struck by Antigonos Dôsôn at that town. I fancy however that the piece is rather of Antigonos King of Asia. His general Aristodêmos drives Kassander's garrison out of Patrai, B.C. 314. (See text, p. 243.) It could hardly be struck by a local tyrant in honour of Antigonos Gonatas, as Patrai revived the League (B.C. 280) three years before he obtained permanent possession of his kingdom (B.C. 277). The galley on this coin closely resembles that engraved on the coin of the King of Asia in the Geog. Dict. and the branch occurs on an undoubted coin of Patrai in Leake. Still the galley is common enough on coins of the Seleukian Dynasty and elsewhere, and the laurel branch occurs on coins generally given to Antigonos Gonatas. About the monogram of Patrai I think there is little doubt. Neither do I think the coin belongs to Antigonos Dôsôn who never specially took Patrai, except in the sense in which he may be said to have taken all Peloponnêsos; and who, as he scrupulously respected constitutional forms, was not likely thus to interfere with the sovereignty of any city of the League. If we make it the first Antigonos, the coin and the historical notice fit in just as they should with one another.

I am tempted to connect with the above-mentioned coin a tetradrachm of Alexander which bears as its symbol an identically shaped prow of a galley, the same monogram of Patrai but without the P, the monogram AX, perhaps to signify the position of Patrai in Achaia, and last, Arion on his dolphin. This representation is found on coins of Corinth and the dolphin is a prevalent type of Patrai. M. Müller however gives the coin to the Lesbian Méthymna, Arion's native town, where this type also appears on the coinage (Müller, p. 242, and pl. XIV. No. 982). Perhaps the municipal authorities of Patrai issued this coin as well at the date of the occupation by Aristodêmos.

I subjoin a list of towns and districts which have left coins struck under the Achaian League. When an authority follows the city-name, this means that I have never personally verified the coins given. Some of the attributions grounded only on silver coins without a city-name are not absolutely certain. The references apply to the text. I add the actual, probable, or approximate date of League-incorporation where I am able, except at Antigoneia, where I give the date of its change of name:—

- | | |
|------|---|
| B.C. | |
| 229. | 1. Aigina? Silver only. A fish. p. 425. |
| 243. | 2. Megara. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. (Sestini.) p. 377. |
| 208. | 3. Pagai. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΓΑΙΩΝ. (Probably separated from Megara.) p. 628. |
| 243. | 4. Corinth. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ. p. 377. |
| 251. | 5. Sikyôn. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΩΝ. p. 364. |
| 228. | 6. Phlious. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙΩΝ. p. 428. |

IN ARGOLIS.

- | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|
| 228. | 7. Argos. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ. p. 428. |
|------|-----------------------------------|

B.C.

THE
ACHAIA
LEAGUE.

8. Asine. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΣΙΝΑΙΩΝ. (Qy. Messénian : see below.)
229. 9. Kleonai. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΛΕΩΝΑΙΩΝ. p. 401.
229. 10. Hermione. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΡΜΙΩΝΕΩΝ. (Sestini.) p. 425.
243. 11. Epidauros. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΕΩΝ. (Sestini.) p. 377.
243. 12. Troizên. Silver only. A trident. p. 377.

IN ACHAIA.

- (At the earliest) 274. 13. Aigeira. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΕΙΡΑΤΑΝ. p. 246.
275. 14. Aigion. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ. p. 246.
280. 15. Dymê? Silver only ΔΥ. A round-bodied fish. p. 245.
275. 16. Keryneia? ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΡΙΝΟΙΩΝ (sic). (Sestini.) p. 246.
280. 17. Patrai? Silver only. ΠΑ and a dolphin. p. 245.
- At the earliest) 274. 18. Pellênê. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΠΕΛΛΑΝΕΩΝ. See p. 246.

IN ARKADIA.

- Before 235. 19. Aleia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΕΙΩΝ. See p. 454.
194. 20. Alipheira. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΕΦΕΙΡΕΩΝ. (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
222. 21. Antigoneia. (Mantineia) ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΩΝ. p. 495.
194. 22. Asea. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΣΕΑΤΩΝ. (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
194. 23. Dipaia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΔΙΠΑΙΕΩΝ. (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
24. Eua? ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΥΩΝ. (Sestini.) In the Thyreatia.
- Before 234. 25. Heraia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΗΡΑΙΕΩΝ. p. 403.
194. 26. Gortys. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ. (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
227. 27. Kaphyai. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΦΥΤΕΩΝ. p. 442.
234. 28. Megalopolis. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. p. 404.
194. 29. Pallanteon. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΛΛΑΝΤΕΩΝ. (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
- Before 234. 30. Pheneos. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΕΝΕΩΝ. p. 403.
219. 31. Psôphis? ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΨΟΦΙΣΙΩΝ (ΦΑΕΙΑΣΙΩΝ?) (Eckhel.) p. 538.
208. 32. Phigaleia or Phialia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΙΓΑΛΙΩΝ. (Must have joined with Triphylia. See p. 538.)
- Before 234. 33. Stymphalos. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ. p. 403.
222. 34. Tegea. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ. p. 495.
- Before 234. 35. Thelpousa. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΘΕΛΠΟΥΣΙΩΝ. (Sestini.) p. 403, and Pol. ii. 54.
194. 36. Theisoa. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΘΙΣΟΑΙΕΩΝ. (Sestini.) (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
191. 37. Elis. Silver only. ΕΛ. A thunderbolt. p. 636.

ÆTOLIA.

ÆTOLIA.
Its federal
coinage

The fine federal coinage of Ætolia in gold and silver is inscribed ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ, and may, perhaps, refer in its type to some special victory in the annals of this League. I prefer, however, to believe that the figure seated on shields holding a small victory in its hand, is such an impersonification of their country as a tribe who lived in a perpetual atmosphere of petty warfare would naturally choose.¹

192. 38. Lacedæmon. Silver only. The bonnets of the Dioskouroi. p. 630.
191. 39. Messénê. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. p. 636.
184. 40. Korônê. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΩΝΑΙΩΝ. (On Korônê's position towards the League, cf. Liv. xxxix. 49, with Plut. Phil. 17.) p. 648.
About 194? 41. Eliphasia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΛΙΦΑΣΙΩΝ. A township of Mantinea. (Polyb. xi. 11.) This reference had not come to hand before the publication of Mr. Freeman's work, consequently, Eliphasia is there suggested as Eleuthero-lakônîc. I am, in a great measure, answerable for this mistake (see p. 714).

I have received impressions of the League coins of Dipaia, Pheneos, and Eliphasia, through the kindness of Baron Prokesch-Osten at Constantinople, in whose collection these coins occur. (See also his article in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1860.)

I have left Asine under Argolis, although this may be the Messénian town, or the Lakonian Asine or Las of Polybios after all. (See p. 52.)

League coins will no doubt be some day discovered of other more important cities, such as Kleitôr, Orchomenos (of which Kaphyai was merely a district town, p. 442), Tritaia, Kynaitha, Leontion, and Lepreon.

We might also from Polyb. xxv. 1, expect something of Abia, Thouria, and Pharai; of which Thouria has perhaps left autonomous coins (p. 649).

Epidaurus and Megara though I only give their brass coins from others, have left plenty of tolerably certain silver bearing the serpent and lyre, respectively, but without the city-name.

Eckhel's League coin of Psôphis is, I think rightly, questioned by Sestini as a misread coin of Phlious. Still we know this town must have coined under the League, as must Keryneia. (Sestini, *Sopra le medaglie antiche relative alla Confederazione degli Achei*. Milano, 1817. To this work the references to Sestini in my list apply.)

¹ Colonel Leake, from various details of type (see *Num. Hell. Europe*, p. 7), corrects Millingen's identification of this figure with the statue of Ætolia dedicated at Delphi to commemorate the slaughter which the Ætolians inflicted on the Gauls, B.C. 278. (See Thirwall, viii. 70.) The Colonel would suppose this figure had reference to the prominent part which the Ætolians took on the Roman side at Kynoskephalai. The date of these coins is

We have of this type staters and tetradrachms, since we may so call them, as they coincide in weight with such pieces of Alexander the Great; while the heads of Pallas and the young Hēraklēs, which these bear on the other side to the figure of Ætolia, are distinct copies of Alexander's stater and tetradrachm types.¹ With regard to the date of such coins, all that can be said with certainty is, that they are posterior to Alexander but certainly a good deal earlier however much earlier. Again we hear of a statue of Aitōlos at Therma quoted by Ephoros (Strabo, x. 463).

Ἐνδυμίωνος παῖδ' Αἰτωλὸν τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
Αἰτωλοὶ σφετερᾶς μνῆμ' ἀρετᾶς ἑσορᾶν.

(See text, p. 328, cf. Thirlwall, viii. 226) which, did we attach much weight to such special interpretations, might perhaps be connected with the naked male figure with its foot on a rock which appears, on what I imagine, the oldest federal coin of Ætolia (an Æginetan didrachm, the third coin given in Leake under Ætolia). We hear, however, later of many statues in the sanctuary of Apollo at Thermos, a special enactment to protect artists (Thirlwall, viii. 228), and of the private magnificence of the leading Ætolians—facts all corroborated by the beauty of their coinage.

¹ The Ætolian League was certainly developed to some extent before the death of Alexander. Philip had ceded Naupaktos to the Ætolians after Chairōneia. (See text, pp. 327, 328.) Still I fancy such pieces were struck after the death of Alexander. Mr. Poole ("Numismatics," Encyc. Britan. p. 370) would refer such coins "probably to about Alexander's time." The Æginetan scale didrachms are very likely slightly anterior to Alexander; the rest of the federal coinage which follows the Attic standard is clearly based upon his monetary system.

The fact, however, of their being copies of Alexander's coinage need not of necessity imply that they were struck during or even soon after his reign. Col. Leake ("Alexander," p. 4. Num. Hell.) remarks with justice that many of such staters and tetradrachms were issued in Asiatic cities and elsewhere, some long after the death of Alexander. M. Müller treats this interesting subject at great length (see p. 53. *et seq.*), and shows such to have been the case among other reasons, by the appearance of Seleukidan badges on types of Alexander, and by some pieces of that king being struck by towns only founded under the Successors, like the Thrachian Lysimachia, and Philadelphieia of Palestine. M. Müller further instances (p. 370) a remarkable stater on the type of those of Philip of Macedon which, he remarks, must have been struck by the Rhodians, merely on account of the extensive commercial credit and circulation of such pieces, long after that King's death—for the Rhodians never were even on friendly relations with Philip. The coin is of undoubted Rhodian mintage as it bears PO with the pomegranate and a magistrate's name at full. Few of the regal Macedonian pieces can have their mint-place so satisfactorily attributed. A drachm usually classed to Philip Arridaios is likewise certainly struck at Sikyón, probably by some tyrant supported by Macedon. This bears ΣΙ and the dove. The last is historically interesting.

ÆTOLIA. than Kynoskephalai; the great mass however of the more common silver and copper types were struck no doubt during the most prosperous period of this League.¹

The federal series everything in Ætolian numismatics.

The federal series of Ætolia gives us a variety of types in each metal, some of which are sufficiently numerous; but the federal series of Ætolia proper is everything, the town or municipal series of this country next to nothing. This illustrates well the fact that, as contrasted with the Achaian League, this last was a league of cities, Ætolia a league of tribes.² Thus Thermon where the League usually met has left no coins; and the Corinthian didrachm³ ascribed to Naupaktos is of more than doubtful attribution; it has anyhow nothing Ætolian above it, and, even if true, would be anterior to the times of the Ætolian League, for Naupaktos was Ætolian through-

¹ There exists of Federal Ætolia a half stater besides in gold, and, as I have said, some few specimens of perhaps an earlier currency of Æginetan-scale didrachms and drachms. Böckh (*Metrolologische Untersuchungen*) says, "Auch bei den Aetolern als Volk, kommt der Attische Fuss, jedoch nicht ausschliesslich vor," p. 97. The later and more numerous small silver series (Attic tetrobola?) agree in weight with the silver of the Achaian League, with which they are perhaps contemporaneous. They bear the Kalydônian boar with a spear-head and part of the name of the annual Stratêgos of the League thus, ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ ΚΛΕΟΔΑΕ (Cleodêmos), &c. In the curious scene under the walls of Medeôn (see text, p. 413) the Ætolian general expressly complains that going out of office before the town was taken his name would not be inscribed on the trophies (Pol. ii. 2), a direct analogy establishing its habitual inscription on the public coinage. Yet the magisterial name seldom exceeds two letters or a monogram on the larger coins or the copper. On the other side we have a young head wearing the causia, representing Atalantê, as Col. Leake would suggest. I fancy however, this is merely the head of the statue on the larger coins.

Last, there is the numerous copper federal currency, which must also be as late as the times of the Achaian League. The types of this also refer invariably to the Kalydônian hunt; we have the boar's jaw-bone, the spear-head, at times the ear-ring of Atalantê, a star, grapes, &c. In this series, when federal, ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ is added. The towns of Amphissa, Thronion, and the Æteans, strike copper of this Ætolian type substituting, respectively, ΘΡΟΝΙΩΝ—ΑΜΦΙΣΣΕΩΝ—ΟΙΤΑΙΩΝ. Mionnet describes (vol. ii. p. 88) an analogous coin of Apollônia, an Ætolian town mentioned by Livy (xxviii. 8) with Potidania. I have passed over a few other unfrequent types.

² See text, p. 326.

³ Col. Leake classes it to Anaktorion: it reads simply NAT with AN in monogram, and is of the usual Corinthian type. Again, others of such didrachms have been classed to the Ætolian Lysimachia, as have tetrobola of the type given above which read AT.

out the whole federal period. Neither has Kalydôn left any un-
doubted autonomous coins.¹ ÆTOLIA.

Three towns only, and these not strictly and geographically
Ætolian, have left copper coins of the same type and contempora-
neous with the Ætolian federal currency in that metal—Amphissa,
Thronion, and the Æteans,² evidently struck during the period that
the Ætolian League incorporated Lokris and Thessaly.³ Amphissa,
Thronion,
and the
Æteans
coin with
Ætolian
types.

We may add the town of Apollônia to the former three, as likely
to have left authenticated coins struck under the Ætolian League,⁴
but on none of these towns' coins is there any recognition of League
authority. It is impossible to determine in what town was the federal
mint of the Ætolian League, nor considering the character of this fede-
ration, is the question of much historical importance. The ordinary
assemblies were held at Thermon,⁵ and if the extensive federal series
was thence issued, it is highly curious as illustrating the entire pre-
ponderance of federalism over the municipal influence of the capital,
of which no coins in its own name remain. Probable
coins of
the Æto-
lian Apol-
lônia.

LOKRIS.

The coins with Corinthian types,⁶ inscribed ΛΟΚΡΩΝ do not
belong to the Italian Lokris, which was not a colony from Corinth. LOKRIS.

Coinage
of the
Lokrians.

¹ Those given by Mionnet are probably of Chalkêdôn in Bithynia with
the ΚΑΧΑΔΑΔΙΩΝ misread as ΚΑΛΥΔΑΔΙΩΝ. Kalchêdôn not Chalkêdôn
is the invariable coin form. There is one coin of this town however quoted
as struck under Severus.

² Thronion has silver coins of rather earlier date, but in type still re-
sembling the Ætolian, as also have the Æteans but unconnected with
Ætolia. The Æteans are associated by Col. Leake with Ætolia through
Amphissos the mythical founder of the city Æta, but I conceive the copper
coin must plainly mean that the Æteans were included in the Ætolian
League when it was struck. Their predatory habits were eminently Ætolian.

³ On the towns in Thessaly and the Phthiôtic Achaia under Ætolia,
see text, p. 395, note.

⁴ The Ætolian type would exclude the coin from belonging to any
other Apollônia, the town is too obscure for the coin to be false, and
Mionnet could not well have mistaken the reading in this instance. This
town again is only on the borders of Ætolia. I have also seen a Corintho-
colonial didrachm bearing ΑΠΟΑ, which may belong to this town rather
than the Illyrian Apollônia.

⁵ Or even at Naupaktos (see text, p. 334) perhaps according to Livy
xxi. 29, 40. Naupaktos was at an earlier time the federal mint of the
Hesperian Lokrians according to Col. Leake (Numis. Hell. Locris).

⁶ That is the pegasus and helmeted head of Pallas, the type of the

LOKRIS. Col. Leake, who has thus corrected their attribution, suggests that such pieces were minted at Naupaktos, "the most important position in the country of the Locri Hesperii or Ozolæ."

Coins inscribed indifferently ΔΟΚΡΩΝ or ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ.

There are besides larger silver coins, Æginetan didrachms, or their subdivisions, bearing the head of *Dēmêtêr*, and a naked warrior, the lesser *Ajax*,¹ combating; these read indifferently ΔΟΚΡΩΝ² or ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ, being in other respects precisely similar; thus indicating, either that it was a matter of indifference which of these names they adopted, or rather, that they chose to distinguish at least in inscription, if in no other respect, the city coinage of Opous from the general coinage of their tribe; although we may well imagine the city Opous to have been everything to their nation.

Coinage of the Epiknēmidian Lokrians.

Next comes a small copper coinage with a head of *Pallas* and a bunch of grapes inscribed ΔΟΚΡΩΝ, some fragmentary magistrate's name being added; similar to these, but without a magistrate, are also pieces which read ΔΟΚΡ. ΕΠΙΚΝΑ. Certainly, therefore, the last class, and probably both classes, were struck by the Epiknēmidian Lokrians.³

The distinction between

Strabo, from whom the division between Opuntian and Epiknēmidian Lokrians is first mainly derived, mentions Opous as the

Corintho-colonial didrachmic series. One of these reading NAT has been attributed to Naupaktos. Col. Leake wisely corrects this; thus we have no certain coins of this town. (See Leake, *Numis. Hell. sub Locris passim*.)

¹ A specimen in the B.M. and in M. Prosper Dupré's collection reads ΑΙΑΞ, below the warrior. Col. Leake had suggested *Patroclus*. Strabo (ix. 4. 2) says, Οὐ μὴν ἐβασίλευε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος (*Μενολτίος*) τῶν Ὀποντιῶν ἀλλ' Αἴας ὁ Λοκρὸς, πατρίδος αὐτοῦ, ὡς φασί, Ναυῶκου.

² At times ΟΠΟΥ is added in monogram to ΔΟΚΡΩΝ. The forms ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ or ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ are both found. There are also similar hemi-drachms and drachms. Very likely these coins began to be issued contemporaneously with the didrachmic series in the Peloponnese, about the time of the League of *Lykomédês*. There are also copper coins with the helmeted *Pallas* and grape-bunch which read ΟΠΟΥΝ.

³ Sestini publishes a coin, probably misread, of very late date, quite a different type and much open to suspicion on which the Opuntian and Epiknēmidian Lokrians conjointly inscribe their names. If this coin were satisfactory it would show at least under the Roman Empire to which date it must be referred, a virtual fusion of the two tribes. (See *Mionnet. Med. Rom. Sup. iii. 492*.)

metropolis of the Epiknêmidian Lokrians.¹ At any rate the coins LOKRIS.
seem to indicate that both tribes, though probably at different Opuntian
periods, issued money at Opous. The OHOYNTION class is im-
measurably finer and certainly a good deal earlier than the Epi-
knêmidian small copper series.² and Epi-
knêmidian.

CONCLUSION.

Colonel Leake's "Numismata Hellenica" is excellent as far as it goes, but then this work only professes to be a catalogue of his own collection, not a work on the whole Greek series. This has, however, been my text-book through the whole of this Essay, and my obligations to it appear on every page. I have endeavoured to give a reference whenever I quote from this work, but I have quoted so often that in some cases, though unintentionally, I may have omitted to do so.

The Lykian part of my task has been comparatively easy as compared with my attempted numismatic illustration of other Greek Federations. In Lykia, and only in Lykia, have I had special and exhaustive monographs of the highest authority for reference and quotation. The excellent essay of Mr. Waddington in the *Revue Numismatique*, of which I have copiously availed myself, is an excellent example of numismatic writing in its proper and primary historical application.

I am also greatly indebted to an able general view of the subject in Mr. Poole's article on "Numismatics" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th edition, as well as for much personal assistance from him, and Mr. J. De Salis.

My obligations to Mr. Freeman will appear on a comparison of every page of this Essay with his History. To him I owe the original suggestion of this Essay, and of most of the more important historical illustrations which it contains.

To Mr. Vaux, Mr. Madden, and Mr. Pfister, my thanks are due for the facilities they have afforded me for inspecting the public collection.

I must also thank Mrs. W. Martin Leake and Dr. Mordtmann for much valuable assistance.

To Monsieur H. Cohen and Baron Prokesch-Osten I owe some most important impressions of coins.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S
LIST OF
NEW AND POPULAR WORKS.

SECOND EDITION.
RAVENSHOE.

BY HENRY KINGSLEY, Author of 'Geoffry Hamlyn.'

3 Vols. crown 8vo. cloth, £1 11s. 6d.

'Admirable descriptions, which place "Ravenshoe" almost in the first rank of novels. Of the story itself it would really be difficult to speak too highly. The author seems to possess every essential for a writer of fiction.'—*LONDON REVIEW*.

SECOND EDITION.
RECOLLECTIONS OF GEOFFRY HAMLYN.

BY HENRY KINGSLEY. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s.

'Mr. Henry Kingsley has written a work that keeps up its interest from the first page to the last—it is full of vigorous stirring life. The descriptions of Australian life in the early colonial days are marked by an unmistakable touch of reality and personal experience. A book which the public will be more inclined to read than to criticise, and we commend them to each other.'—*ATHENÆUM*.

SECOND EDITION.
TOM BROWN AT OXFORD.

3 Vols. £1 11s. 6d.

'A book that will live. In no other work that we can call to mind are the finer qualities of the English gentleman more happily portrayed.'—*DAILY NEWS*.

'The extracts we have given can give no adequate expression to the literary vividness and noble ethical atmosphere which pervade the whole book.'—*SPECTATOR*.

TWENTY-EIGHTH THOUSAND.
TOM BROWN'S SCHOOL DAYS.

BY AN OLD BOY. Fop. 8vo. 5s.

'A book which every father might well wish to see in the hands of his son.'—*TIMES*.

EIGHTH THOUSAND.
SCOURING OF THE WHITE HORSE.

By the author of 'Tom's Brown's School Days.'

With numerous Illustrations by Richard Doyle. Imperial 16mo. Printed on toned paper, gilt leaves, 8s. 6d.

'The execution is excellent. . . . Like "Tom Brown's School Days," the "White Horse" gives the reader a feeling of gratitude and personal esteem towards the author. The author could not have a better style, nor a better temper, nor a more excellent artist than Mr. Doyle to adorn his book.'—*SATURDAY REVIEW*.

WORKS BY THE REV. CHARLES KINGSLEY.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN, RECTOR OF EYRESLEY,
AND PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

WESTWARD HO!

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s.

'Mr. Kingsley has selected a good subject, and has written a good novel to an excellent purpose.'—*Times*.
'We thank Mr. Kingsley heartily for almost the best historical novel, to our mind, of the day.'
FRASER'S MAGAZINE.

TWO YEARS AGO.

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s.

'In "Two Years Ago," Mr. Kingsley is, as always, genial, large-hearted, and humorous; with a quick eye and a keen relish alike for what is beautiful in nature and for what is genuine, strong, and earnest in man.'—*GUARDIAN*.

ALTON LOCKE, TAILOR AND POET.

NEW EDITION. Crown 8vo. cloth, 4s. 6d. With New Preface.

This Edition is printed in crown 8vo. uniform with 'Westward Ho!' &c., and contains a New Preface.

THE HEROES.

GREEK FAIRY TALES FOR THE YOUNG.

SECOND EDITION, with Illustrations. Royal 16mo. cloth, 5s.

'A charming book, adapted in style and manner, as a man of genius only could have adapted it, to the believing imagination, susceptible spirit of youths.'—*BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*.

'Rarely have these heroes of Greek tradition been celebrated in a bolder or more stirring strain.'—*SATURDAY REVIEW*.

ALEXANDRIA AND HER SCHOOLS.

Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s.

THE LIMITS OF EXACT SCIENCE

AS APPLIED TO HISTORY.

INAUGURAL LECTURE AT CAMBRIDGE. Crown 8vo. 2s.

PHAETHON:

LOOSE THOUGHTS FOR LOOSE THINKERS.

THIRD EDITION. Crown 8vo. 2s.

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION (FIFTH THOUSAND).

Handsomely printed on toned paper and bound in extra cloth. With Vignette and Frontispiece from Designs by the author. Engraved on Steel by C. H. Jeens. 4s. 6d.

THE LADY OF LA GARAYE,

By the Hon. Mrs. NORTON. Dedicated to the Marquis of Lansdowne,

'The poem is a pure, tender, touching tale of pain, sorrow, love, duty, piety, and death.'

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

'A true poem, noble in subject and aim, natural in flow, worthy in expression, with the common soul of humanity throbbing in every page through wholesome words.'—EXAMINER.



GOBLIN MARKET AND OTHER POEMS.

By CHRISTINA G. ROSSETTI. With Two Illustrations from Designs by D. G. Rossetti. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 5s.

'As faultless in expression, as picturesque in effect, and as high in purity of tone, as any modern poem that can be named.'—SATURDAY REVIEW.



THE LUGGIE AND OTHER POEMS.

By DAVID GRAY. With a Preface by R. MONCKTON MILNES, M.P. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 5s.

'Full of the purest and simplest poetry.'—SPECTATOR.



SECOND EDITION.

EDWIN OF DEIRA.

By ALEXANDER SMITH. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 5s.

'The poem bears in every page evidence of genius controlled, purified, and disciplined, but ever present.'—STANDARD.

'A felicitous and noble composition.'—NONCONFORMIST.



BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

A LIFE DRAMA AND OTHER POEMS.

4th Edition, 2s. 6d.

CITY POEMS.

5s.



BLANGHE LISLE AND OTHER POEMS.

By CECIL HOME. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 4s. 6d.

'The writer has music and meaning in his lines and stanzas, which, in the selection of diction and gracefulness of cadence, have seldom been excelled.'—LEADER.

'Full of a true poet's imagination.'—JOHN BULL.

THE POEMS OF ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH,

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

With a Memoir by F. T. PALGRAVE. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 6s.

'Few, if any, literary men of larger, deeper, and more massive mind have lived in this generation than the author of these few poems, and of this the volume before us bears ample evidence.....There is nothing in it that is not in some sense rich either in thought or beauty, or both.'—*SPECTATOR*.

Uniform with 'WESTWARD HO!' 'GEOFFREY HAMLYN,' &c.

THE MOOR COTTAGE :

A TALE OF HOME LIFE.

By MAY BEVERLEY, author of 'Little Estella, and other Fairy Tales for the Young.' Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6s.

'This charming tale is told with such excellent art, that it reads like an episode from real life.'—*ATLAS*.

'The whole plot of the story is conceived and executed in an admirable manner: a work which, when once taken up, it is difficult to put down.'—*JOHN BULL*.

Uniform with 'WESTWARD HO!' 'GEOFFREY HAMLYN,' &c.

ARTIST AND CRAFTSMAN.

Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6s.

'Its power is unquestionable, its felicity of expression great, its plot fresh, and its characters very natural. . . Wherever read, it will be enthusiastically admired and cherished.'

MORNING HERALD.

Uniform with 'WESTWARD HO!' 'GEOFFREY HAMLYN,' &c.

A LADY IN HER OWN RIGHT.

By WESTLAND MARSTON. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6s.

'Since "The Mill on the Floss" was noticed, we have read no work of fiction which we can so heartily recommend to our readers as "A Lady in her Own Right;" the plot, incidents, and characters are all good: the style is simple and graceful: it abounds in thoughts judiciously introduced and well expressed, and throughout a kind, liberal, and gentle spirit.'

CHURCH OF ENGLAND MONTHLY REVIEW.

THE BROKEN TROTH :

A TALE OF TUSCAN LIFE FROM THE ITALIAN.

By PHILIP IRETON. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. cloth, 12s.

'The style is so easy and natural. . . The story is well told from beginning to end.'—*Press*.

'A genuine Italian tale—a true picture of the Tuscan peasant population, with all their virtues, faults, weaknesses, follies, and even vices. . . The best Italian tale that has been published since the appearance of the 'Promessi Sposi' of Manzoni. . . The 'Broken Troth' is one of those that cannot be read but with pleasure.'—*LONDON REVIEW*.

FOOTNOTES FROM THE PAGE OF NATURE : OR, FIRST FORMS OF VEGETATION.

A popular work on Algae, Fungi, Mosses, and Lichens.

By the Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN, F.R.S.E. With numerous Illustrations and a Coloured Frontispiece. Fcp. 8vo. 5s.

'Admirably adapted to serve as an introduction to the study of more scientific botanic works, and to throw a new interest over country rambles by bringing into notice the simple forms of vegetation everywhere to be met with.'—SATURDAY REVIEW.

REDUCED IN PRICE TO FIVE SHILLINGS.

GLAUCUS ; OR, WONDERS OF THE SEA SHORE.

By CHARLES KINGSLEY, M.A. Rector of Eversley, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Containing beautifully Coloured Illustrations of the Objects mentioned in the work. Royal 16mo. elegantly bound in cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

'One of the most charming works on Natural History . . . written in such a style, and adorned with such a variety of illustration, that we question whether the most unconcerned reader can peruse it without deriving both pleasure and profit.'—ANNALS OF NATURAL HISTORY.

STRAY NOTES ON FISHING AND NATURAL HISTORY.

By CORNWALL SIMMONS. With Illustrations, 7s. 6d.

'If this remarkably agreeable work does not rival in popularity the celebrated "White's Selborne," it will not be because it does not deserve it . . . the mind is almost satiated with a repletion of strange facts and good things.'—FIELD.

THE HUMAN HAND AND THE HUMAN FOOT.

By G. M. HUMPHREY, M.D. F.R.S., Lecturer on Surgery and Anatomy in the University of Cambridge.

With numerous Illustrations. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 4s. 6d.

'The marvels of creative wisdom are herein set forth plainly and simply, and yet without scientifically and correctly . . . every explanation is given which can by any chance be needed to render the subject perfectly clear and intelligible, whilst most carefully executed engravings are profusely scattered through the text. In this little volume there is stored up such an amount of valuable information written in an entertaining form as deserves to gain for it admission into the library of every one.'—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

LIFE ON THE EARTH;

ITS ORIGIN AND SUCCESSION.

By JOHN PHILLIPS, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of Geology in the University of Oxford. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

'It is not without gratitude as well as pleasure that one receives at such a time a careful and condensed summary of the present unquestionable results of scientific research, proceeding from one who has great clearness and soundness of intellect, and the richest and completest knowledge.'—*Nonconformist*.



THE STORY OF A BOULDER;

OR, GLEANINGS BY A FIELD GEOLOGIST.

By ARCHIBALD GEIKIE. Illustrated. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 5s.

'We do not know a more readable book on a scientific subject, and it will be invaluable to young people, as well as interesting to those who are already acquainted with the subject it treats of.'—*Clerical Journal*.



LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF M. DE TOCQUEVILLE.

Translated from the French. By the Translator of 'Napoleon Correspondence with King Joseph.' With numerous additions. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 21s.

'The appearance of this work will be welcomed by every politician and every Englishman capable of appreciating exhaustive and solid thought.'—*Spectator*.

'Few men of the nineteenth century have attained a more remarkable influence. . . . Charming as specimens of style, they are of infinitely greater value as showing the inner life of a man who was as simple as a child, and yet as gifted as any of the many learned writers and scholars whom France has produced.'—*Bell's Messenger*.



PICTURES OF OLD ENGLAND.

By Dr. REINHOLD PAULI. Translated, with the author's revision, by E. C. OTTÉ. With a Map of London in the Thirteenth Century.

Crown 8vo. extra cloth, 8s. 6d.

CONTENTS:

- I. CANTERBURY AND THE WORSHIP OF ST. THOMAS A BECKET.
- II. MONKS AND MENDICANT FRIARS.
- III. PARLIAMENT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
- IV. ENGLAND'S EARLIEST RELATIONS TO AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.
- V. THE EMPEROR LOUIS IV. AND KING EDWARD III.
- VI. THE HANSEATIC STEEL YARD IN LONDON.
- VII. TWO POETS, GOWER AND CHAUCER.
- VIII. JOHN WICLIF.

'There are some books so admirable, that merely general criticism subsides into "Read, it will satisfy you." Dr. Pauli's work is of this kind.'—*Nonconformist*.

GARIBALDI AT CAPRERA.

By COLONEL VECCHI. With Preface by Mrs. Gaskell, and a View of Caprera.
Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

'After all has been told, there was something wanting to the full and true impression of the Patriot's character and mode of life; as every one who reads this artless and enthusiastic narration will certainly admit. Mrs. GASKELL says she knows that "every particular" of this full and minute account may be relied upon; and it has an air of truth that commends it even when it is most extravagant in its admiration.'—*NONCONFORMIST*.

ROME IN 1860.

By EDWARD DICEY, author of 'Life of Cavour.' Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s. 6d.

'So striking and apparently so faithful a portrait. It is the Rome of real life he has depicted.'—*SPECTATOR*.

THE ITALIAN WAR OF 1848-9,

And the last Italian Poet. By the late HENRY LUSHINGTON, Chief Secretary to the Government of Malta. With a Biographical Preface by G. STOVIN VENABLES. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s. 6d.

'Perhaps the most difficult of all literary tasks—the task of giving historical unity, dignity, and interest to events so recent as to be still encumbered with all the details with which newspapers invest them—has never been more successfully discharged. . . . Mr. Lushington, in a very short compass, shows the true nature and sequence of the events, and gives to the whole story of the struggle and defeat of Italy a degree of unity and dramatic interest which not one newspaper reader in ten thousand ever supposed it to possess.'—*SATURDAY REVIEW*.

EARLY EGYPTIAN HISTORY:

FOR THE YOUNG.

WITH DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TOMBS AND MONUMENTS.

By the Author of 'Sidney Grey,' &c. and her Sister. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 5s.

'Full of information without being dull, and full of humour without being frivolous; stating in the most popular form the main results of modern research. . . . We have said enough to take our readers to the book itself, where they will learn more of Ancient Egypt than in any other popular work on the subject.'—*LONDON REVIEW*.

DAYS OF OLD;

OR, STORIES FROM OLD ENGLISH HISTORY.

FOR THE YOUNG.

By the Author of 'Ruth and Her Friends.' With a Frontispiece by W. HOLMAN HUNT. Royal 16mo. beautifully printed on toned paper and bound in extra cloth, 5s.

'A delightful little book, full of interest and instruction. . . . fine feeling, dramatic weight, and descriptive power in the stories. . . . They are valuable as throwing a good deal of light upon English history, bringing rapidly out the manners and customs, the social and political conditions of our British and Anglo-Saxon ancestors, and the moral ways of a pure and noble kind.'—*LITERARY GAZETTE*.

HOW TO WIN OUR WORKERS.

A Short Account of the Leeds Sewing School for Factory Girls. By Mrs. HYDE.
Dedicated by permission to the EARL of CARLISLE. Fcp. 8vo. limp cloth,
1s. 6d.

This work is intended to exhibit the successful working of an Institution for bringing the Working-girls of a large town into communication and sympathy with those who are separated from them by social position.

'A little book brimful of good sense and good feeling.'—GLOBE.

OUR YEAR.

Child's Book in Prose and Rhyme. By the author of 'John Halifax.' With numerous Illustrations by CLARENCE DOBELL. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

'Just the book we could wish to see in the hands of every child.'—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

LITTLE ESTELLA, AND OTHER FAIRY TALES.

By MAY BEVERLEY. With Frontispiece. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

'Very pretty, pure in conception, and simply, gracefully related . . . genuine story-telling.'
DAILY NEWS.

MY FIRST JOURNAL.

A Book for Children. By GEORGIANA M. CRAIK, author of 'Lost and Won.'
With Frontispiece. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 4s. 6d.

'True to Nature and to a fine kind of nature. . . . The style is simple and graceful . . .
a work of Art, clever and healthy-toned.'—GLOBE.

AGNES HOPETOUN'S SCHOOLS AND HOLIDAYS.

By Mrs. OLIPHANT, author of 'Margaret Maitland.' With Frontispiece
Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

'Described with exquisite reality . . . teaching the young pure and good lessons.'
JOHN BULL.

DAYS OF OLD: STORIES FROM OLD ENGLISH HISTORY.

By the author of 'Ruth and Her Friends.' With Frontispiece. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 6s.

'A delightful little book, full of interest and instruction . . . fine feeling, dramatic weight, and descriptive power in the stories.'—*LITERARY GAZETTE*.

DAVID, KING OF ISRAEL.

A History for the Young. By JOSIAH WRIGHT, Head Master of Sutton Coldfield Grammar School. With Illustrations. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

'An excellent book . . . well conceived, and well worked out.'—*LITERARY CHURCHMAN*.

RUTH AND HER FRIENDS.

A Story for Girls. With Frontispiece. Third Edition. Royal 16mo. cloth, gilt leaves, 5s.

'A book which girls will read with avidity, and cannot fail to profit by.'
LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

SECOND EDITION.

GEORGE BRIMLEY'S ESSAYS.

Edited by WILLIAM GEORGE CLARK, M.A. Public Orator in the University of Cambridge. With Portrait. Crown, 8vo. cloth, 5s.

CONTENTS:

- I. TENNYSON'S POEMS.
- II. WORDSWORTH'S POEMS.
- III. POETRY AND CRITICISM.
- IV. ANGEL IN THE HOUSE.
- V. CARLYLE'S LIFE OF STERLING.
- VI. ESMOND.
- VII. MY NOVEL.
- VIII. BLEAK HOUSE.
- IX. WESTWARD HO!
- X. WILSON'S NOCTES.
- XI. COMTE'S POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.

'One of the most delightful and precious volumes of criticism that has appeared in these days. . . . To every cultivated reader they will disclose the wonderful clearness of perception, the delicacy of feeling, the pure taste, and the remarkably firm and decisive judgment which are the characteristics of all Mr. Brimley's writings on subjects that really penetrated and fully possessed his nature.'—*NONCONFORMIST*.

WORKS BY DAVID MASSON, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

LIFE OF JOHN MILTON.

Narrated in connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his time. Vol. 1. 8vo. with Portraits, 18s.

'Mr. Masson's Life of Milton has many sterling merits . . . his industry is immense; his zeal unflagging; his special knowledge of Milton's life and times extraordinary. . . . With a zeal and industry which we cannot sufficiently commend, he has not only availed himself of the biographical stores collected by his predecessors, but imparted to them an aspect of novelty by his skillful re-arrangement.'—*Edinburgh Review*.



BRITISH NOVELISTS AND THEIR STYLES;

Being a critical sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction. Crown 8vo. cloth, 7s. 6d.

'A work eminently calculated to win popularity, both by the soundness of its doctrine and the skill of its art.'—*THE PRESS*.



ESSAYS, BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL.

Chiefly on English Poets: By DAVID MASSON: 8vo. cloth, 12s. 6d.

CONTENTS:

- I. SHAKESPEARE AND GOETHE.
- II. MILTON'S YOUTH.
- III. THE THREE DEVILS: LUTHER'S, MILTON'S, AND GOETHE'S.
- IV. DRYDEN, AND THE LITERATURE OF THE RESTORATION.
- V. DEAN SWIFT.
- VI. CHATTERTON: A STORY OF THE YEAR 1770.
- VII. WORDSWORTH.
- VIII. SCOTTISH INFLUENCE ON BRITISH LITERATURE.
- IX. THEORIES OF POETRY.
- X. PROSE AND VERSE: DE QUINCEY.

'Mr. Masson has succeeded in producing a series of criticisms in relation to creative literature which are satisfactory as well as subtle—which are not only ingenious, but which possess the rarer recommendation of being usually just.'—*THE TIMES*.

RELIGIO CHÉMICI.

By **GEORGE WILSON, M.D.** late Regius Professor of Technology in the University of Edinburgh. Crown 8vo. cloth:

With a Vignette Title Page by **NOEL PATON**, engraved by **C. JRENS**.
Price 8s. 6d.

THE FIVE GATEWAYS OF KNOWLEDGE.

A popular work on the Five Senses. By **GEORGE WILSON, M.D.** Eighth Thousand. In fcp. 8vo. cloth, with gilt leaves, 2s. 6d. People's Edition in ornamental stiff cover, 1s.

THE PROGRESS OF THE TELEGRAPH.

By **GEORGE WILSON, M.D.** Fcp. 8vo. 1s.

MEMOIR OF GEORGE WILSON, M.D. F.R.S.E.

Regius Professor of Technology in the University of Edinburgh. By his Sister, **JESSIE AITKEN WILSON**. With Portrait. 8vo. cloth, price 14s.

'His life was so pregnant in meaning, so rich in noble deeds, so full of that spiritual vitality which serves to quicken life in others; it bore witness to so many principles which we can only fully understand when we see them in action: it presented so many real pictures of dauntless courage and of Christian heroism, that we welcome gratefully the attempt to reproduce it which has resulted in the volume before us. Miss Wilson has entered lovingly upon her task, and has accomplished it well.'—*FRASER*.

MEMOIR OF EDWARD FORBES, F.R.S.

Late Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh.

By **GEORGE WILSON, M.D. F.R.S.E.** and **ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.R.S.E.**
F.G.S. of the Geological Survey of Great Britain. 8vo. cloth, with Portrait, 14s.

'We welcome this volume as a graceful tribute to the memory of as gifted, tender, generous a soul as Science has ever reared, and prematurely lost.'—*LITERARY GAZETTE*.

'It is long since a better memoir than this, as regards either subject or handling, has come under our notice. . . . The first nine chapters retain all the charming grace of style which marked everything of Wilson's, and the author of the latter two-thirds of the memoir deserves very high praise for the skill he has used, and the kindly spirit he has shown. From the first page to the last, the book claims careful reading, as being a full but not overcrowded rehearsal of a most instructive life, and the true picture of a mind that was rare in strength and beauty.'—*EXAMINER*.

**MEMOIR OF THE
LIFE OF THE REV. ROBERT STORY**

LATE MINISTER OF ROSNEATH, DUMBARTONSHIRE.

By ROBERT HERBERT STORY, Minister of Rosneath. Crown 8vo. cloth,
with Portrait, 7s. 6d.

. This volume includes several important passages of Scottish Religious and Ecclesiastical History during the Second Quarter of the present Century. Among others, the ROW CONTROVERSY, the RISE of the IRVINGITE MOVEMENT, the EARLY HISTORY of the FREE CHURCH, &c. &c.

**THE PRISON CHAPLAIN:
A MEMOIR OF THE REV. JOHN CLAY,**

LATE CHAPLAIN OF PRESTON GAOL.

With selections from his Correspondence and a Sketch of Prison Discipline in England. By his SON. With Portrait, 8vo. cloth, 15s.

'It presents a vigorous account of the Penal system in England in past times, and in our own. It exhibits in detail the career of one of our latest prison reformers; alleged, we believe with truth, to have been one of the most successful, and certainly in his judgments and opinions one of the most cautious and reasonable, as well as one of the most ardent.'

SATURDAY REVIEW.

MEMOIR OF GEORGE WAGNER,

LATE INCUMBENT OF ST. STEPHEN'S, BRIGHTON.

By JOHN NASSAU SIMPKINSON, M.A. Rector of Brington, Northampton.

Third and cheaper Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 5s.

'A more edifying biography we have rarely met with . . . If any parish priest, discouraged by what he may consider an unpromising aspect of the time, should be losing heart . . . we recommend him to procure this edifying memoir, to study it well, to set the example of the holy man who is the subject of it before him in all its length and breadth, and then he will appreciate what can be done even by one earnest man; and gathering fresh inspiration, he will chide himself for all previous discontent, and address himself with stronger purpose than ever to the lowly works and lofty aims of the ministry entrusted to his charge.'

LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

FAMILY PRAYERS.

By the Rev. GEORGE BUTLER, M.A. Vice-Principal of Cheltenham College,
and late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5s.

12

CAMBRIDGE CLASS BOOKS

FOR COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

PUBLISHED BY

MACMILLAN & CO.

A set of Macmillan & Co.'s Class Books will be found in the Educational Department (Class 29) of the International Exhibition, and for which a Medal has been awarded.

- Arithmetic.** For the use of Schools. By **BARNARD SMITH**, M.A., Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. New Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 4s. 6d.
- A Key to the Arithmetic for Schools.** By **BARNARD SMITH**, M.A., Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 8s. 6d.
- Arithmetic and Algebra, in their Principles and Application :** with numerous systematically arranged Examples, taken from the Cambridge Examination Papers. By **BARNARD SMITH**, M.A. Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.
- Exercises in Arithmetic.** By **BARNARD SMITH**. With Answers. Crown 8vo. limp cloth, 2s. 6d. Or sold separately, as follows :— Part I. 1s. Part II. 1s. Answers 6d.
- An Elementary Treatise on the Theory of Equations,** with a Collection of Examples. By **I. TODHUNTER**, M.A. Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. cloth, 7s. 6d.
- Euclid.** For Colleges and Schools. By **I. TODHUNTER**, M.A., Fellow and Principal Mathematical Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge. Pot 8vo. [In the Press.]
- Algebra.** For the use of Colleges and Schools. By **I. TODHUNTER**, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 7s. 6d.
- Plane Trigonometry.** For Colleges and Schools. By **I. TODHUNTER**, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5s.
- A Treatise on Spherical Trigonometry.** For the use of Colleges and Schools. By **I. TODHUNTER**, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. cloth, 4s. 6d.
- Examples of Analytical Geometry of Three Dimensions.** By **I. TODHUNTER**, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. cloth, 4s.
- A Treatise on the Differential Calculus.** With numerous Examples. By **I. TODHUNTER**, M.A. Fellow and Assistant Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

A Treatise on the Integral Calculus. With numerous Examples. By I. TODHUNTER, M.A. Fellow and Assistant Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

A Treatise on Analytical Statics. With numerous Examples. By I. TODHUNTER, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 10s. 6d.

First Book of Algebra. For Schools. By J. C. W. ELLIS, M.A., and P. M. CLARK, M.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. [Preparing.

Arithmetic in Theory and Practice. For Advanced Pupils. By J. BROOK SMITH, M.A. Part First. 164 pp. (1860). Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

A Short Manual of Arithmetic. By C. W. UNDERWOOD, M.A. 96 pp. (1860). Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Introduction to Plane Trigonometry. For the use of Schools. By J. C. SNOWBALL, M.A. Second Edition (1847). 8vo. 5s.

Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. With the Construction and Use of Tables of Logarithms. By J. C. SNOWBALL, M.A. Ninth Edition, 240 pp. (1857). Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Plane Trigonometry, With a numerous Collection of Examples. By R. D. BEAULIEF, M.A. 106 pp. (1858). Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Elementary Treatise on Mechanics. With a Collection of Examples. By S. PARKINSON, B.D. Second Edition, 345 pp. (1860). Crown 8vo. 9s. 6d.

A Treatise on Optics. By S. PARKINSON, B.D. 304 pp. (1859). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Elementary Hydrostatics. With numerous Examples and Solutions. By J. B. PHEAR, M.A. Second Edition. 156 pp. (1857). Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Dynamics of a Particle. With numerous Examples. By P. G. TAIT, M.A. and W. J. STEELE, M.A. 304 pp. (1856). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Treatise on Dynamics. By W. P. WILSON, M.A. 176 pp. (1850). 8vo. 9s. 6d.

Dynamics of a System of Rigid Bodies. With numerous Examples. By E. J. ROUTH, M.A. 336 pp. (1860). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Geometrical Treatise on Conic Sections. With a Collection of Examples. By W. H. DREW, M.A. 121 pp. (Second Edition, 1862). 4s. 6d.

Solutions to Problems contained in a Geometrical Treatise on Conic Sections. By W. H. DREW, M.A. (1862). 4s. 6d.

Elementary Treatise on Conic Sections and Algebraic Geometry. By G. H. PUCKLE, M.A. Second Edition. 264 pp. (1856). Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Elementary Treatise on Trilinear Co-ordinates, By N. M. FERRERS, M.A. 164 pp. (1861). Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

A Treatise on Solid Geometry. By P. FROST, M.A. and J. WOLSTENHOLME, M.A. 8vo. [In the Press.]

A Treatise on the Calculus of Finite Differences. By GEORGE BOOLE, D.C.L. 248 pp. (1840). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Algebraical and Numerical Theory of Errors of Observations and the Combination of Observations. By the Astronomer Royal, G. B. AIRY, M.A. Pp. 103 (1861). 6s. 6d.

The Construction of Wrought Iron Bridges, embracing the Practical Application of the Principles of Mechanics to Wrought Iron Girder Work. By J. H. LATHAM, M.A. C.E. With numerous plates. Pp. 282 (1858). 15s.

Mathematical Tracts. On the Lunar and Planetary Theories, the Figure of the Earth, Precession and Nutation, the Calculus of Variations, and the Undulatory Theory of Optics. By the Astronomer-Royal, G. B. AIRY, M.A. Fourth Edition (1858), pp. 490. 15s.

An Elementary Treatise on the Planetary Theory. By C. H. H. CHEYNE, B.A. Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge. [Preparing.]

A Treatise on Attractions, Laplace's Functions, and the Figure of the Earth. By J. H. PRATT, M.A. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 126 pp. (1861). 6s. 6d.

An Elementary Treatise on Quaternions. By P. G. TAIT, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. [Preparing.]

Singular Properties of the Ellipsoid, and Associated Surfaces of the Ninth Degree. By the Rev. G. F. CHILDE, M.A. Mathematical Professor in the South African College. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Collection of Mathematical Problems and Examples With Answers. By H. A. MORGAN, M.A. Pp. 190 (1858). Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Senate-House Mathematical Problems. With Solutions

1848-51. By FERRERS and JACKSON. 8vo. 15s. 6d.
1848-51. (Hiders.) By JAMESON. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
1854. By WALTON and MACKENZIE. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
1857. By CAMPION and WALTON. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
1860. By ROUTH and WATSON. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Hellenica: a First Greek Reading-Book. Being a History of Greece, taken from Diodorus and Thucydides. By JOSIAH WRIGHT, M.A. Second Edition. Pp. 150 (1857). Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Demosthenes on the Crown. With English Notes. By B. DRAKE, M.A. Second Edition, to which is prefixed *Æschines against Ctesiphon*. With English Notes. (1860.) Fcp. 8vo. 5s.

Juvenal. For Schools. With English Notes and an Index. By JOHN E. MAYOR, M.A. Pp. 464 (1853). Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Cicero's Second Philippic. With English Notes. By JOHN E. B. MAYOR. Pp. 168 (1861). 5s.

Help to Latin Grammar; or, the Form and Use of Words in Latin. With Progressive Exercises. By JOSIAH WRIGHT, M.A. Pp. 175 (1855). Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

The Seven Kings of Rome. A First Latin Reading-Book. By JOSIAH WRIGHT, M.A. Second Edit. Pp. 138 (1857). Fcp. 8vo. 3s.

Vocabulary and Exercises on 'The Seven Kings.' By JOSIAH WRIGHT, M.A. Pp. 94 (1857). Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

First Latin Construing Book. By E. THRING, M.A. Pp. 104 (1855). Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Sallust.—Catilina et Jugurtha. With English Notes. For Schools. By CHARLES MERIVALE, B.D. Second Edition. Pp. 172 (1858). Fcp. 8vo. 4s. 6d. Catilina and Jugurtha may be had separately, price 2s. 6d. each.

Æschylus.—The Eumenides. With English Notes and Translation. By B. DRAKE, M.A. Pp. 144 (1853). 8vo. 7s. 6d.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. With Notes. By CHARLES JOHN VAUGHAN, D.D. (1861). Crown 8vo. 5s.

The Child's English Grammar. By E. THRING, M.A. Demy 18mo. New Edition (1857). 1s.

Elements of Grammar taught in English. By E. THRING, M.A. Third Edition. Pp. 136 (1860). Demy 18mo. 2s.

SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., PRINTERS, NEW-STREET SQUARE, LONDON



3 2044 021 232 905

OCT 28 1983

122151004



STATE STUDY
CHARGE
CANCELLED

